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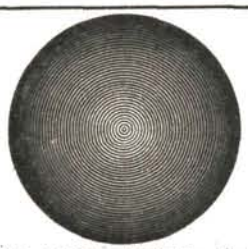

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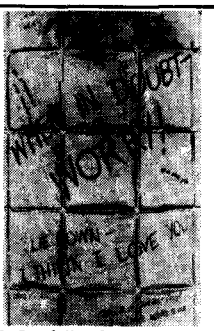

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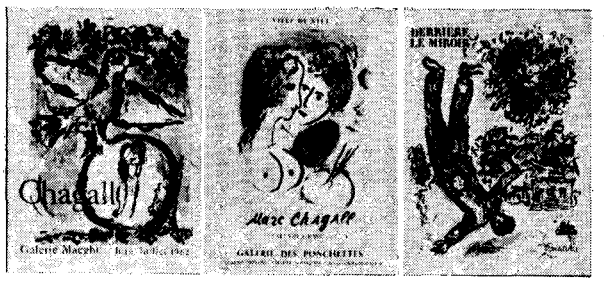

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T.R.B. from Washington

Minus Rockefeller

★ Governor Rockefeller made Richard Nixon the Republican nominee last week when he withdrew from the race. It means that on the Republican side the professionals have triumphed over the people, which is just what Bobby Kennedy and Gene McCarthy are trying to prevent among the Democrats.

It has plus and minus signs for both Mr. Nixon and President Johnson. For Mr. Nixon it means that he can relax, conserve his money and his energy (the latter is important because Mr. Nixon's fatigue factor makes him snappish and nasty under stress). It gives him imponderable advantages too.

It means that he need no longer stress his conservatism as against the liberal Rockefeller challenge in order to keep the support of Ronald Reagan, Barry Goldwater and the South, where his real base lies. We would expect that Nixon would now mute the points that differentiated him from Governor Rockefeller, for he is sure of the nomination anyway. Normally candidates move to the center after they get the nomination, and adopt a stance that will appeal to the great uncommitted center group that decides elections.

This is particularly important for Nixon now, because the Republicans are a minority and he knows they can't win unless they attract the independents and dissident Democrats. We would expect Dick to be very middle-of-the-roadish from now on, with a kind, understanding pat on the head even for those who don't like Vietnam.

The disadvantages for the GOP are that Nixon will have to go through the primaries running against nobody, which is no way to efface the image of a two-time loser. More important, it means that the man who ran behind Governor Rockefeller in the polls is the nominee. Governor Rockefeller almost certainly could have won in 1960, but the GOP rejected him; now the party professionals have rejected again the man who could probably put up the strongest fight against Mr. Johnson, particularly on Vietnam. It is a sad business. An unmentioned part of the story is Governor Rockefeller's reluctance to drag his divorce and remarriage through the campaign again; there was talk about that already in New Hampshire.

There are advantages and disadvantages for Mr. Johnson too. All along, the Administration has hoped that Nixon would be picked. Under normal circumstances he would be easiest to beat. Unfortunately, these aren't normal circumstances. The disadvantage for the Democrats is that the GOP will be fed a bitter party feud and will presumably present a united front. Finally there are disadvantages for the nation. Mr. Nixon now seems assured of nomination. Chances of preventing Mr. Johnson's renomination are none too good. A Nixon-Johnson race would be a Tweedledum-Tweedledee affair on Vietnam, despite differences over detail. In such a race the opponents of the war would have nowhere to go. American young people would be alienated from politics. The issue of crime, race and riots might be dominant.

In sum, the Rockefeller withdrawal, which was done with dignity much like Governor Romney's a few weeks before, makes the importance of the Kennedy-McCarthy candidacies just twice as big.

Pay Up or Shut Up

★ One thing irks us more and more. Why don't those hawks who cheer when Mr. Johnson tells them that America is "the champion of man's freedom," and that we need "a total national effort," accept the responsibility of their position and demand full-scale national sacrifices? This war is now costing $30 billion a year, and even if you disregard all the social losses involved and the danger of roaring racial conflict at home this summer, the mere monetary cost is awesome. Why do the people who imply that opponents of Vietnam are heedless and unpatriotic, not come forward with genuine demands for higher taxes, higher interest rates, and all the rest?

The Johnson tax hike has been stalled in the same legislature that whooped through the Tonkin Gulf resolution. The red-blooded patriots, the members of the Quagmire Club, the people who think that student protests to the draft are probably communist inspired, turn red with anger at the idea of not being permitted to travel abroad this summer. Sacrifices are for the birds and for the boys who get drafted and killed, not for you and me who have investments in Dow Chemical and the industrial-military complex.

We think we know why there isn't bigger demand for mutuality of sacrifice. Because many supposed supporters of the war only give it lip service. If a man points an accusing finger at them and says, "Do you want to pull out?" they hurriedly say, "No, of course not!"

But make a sacrifice for this unpopular war?

Personally it would give us a good deal of satisfaction if Mr. Johnson's so-called austerity program went into effect, and if a ban on foreign travel and higher taxes and a freeze on wages and profits were wheedled through. We believe the war is becoming so unpopular that a few genuine hardships would crystallize opposition.

We traveled all over the USA last summer and everywhere heard the same story; people didn't like the war but they suppose it had to be fought. The President said so, and they were willing to go along with it because it couldn't last long and wouldn't cost much. Well, it is bigger than ever now.

★ *Notes:* We like the phrase going 'round here: Things are going to get a lot worse before they get worse. . . . Some of the reports we get from the Pentagon reporters are really quite gloomy; they are beginning to get into print. . . . And here's a quotation Paul Douglas used the other day that we can't forget, "Perhaps the chief effect of the organized church was to inoculate the great mass of Western mankind with such a mild dose of Christianity as to make them immune to the real thing."

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In View of Kennedy

The President is edging up to the abyss – not only in Asia but in this country. He is doing so by repeated insinuations that a vote against him is a vote for Hanoi, and, by implication, that Senators McCarthy and Kennedy are playing the communist game. It is a tactic worthy of the early Nixon, petty, vindictive, totally unjustified. It is the kind of response under fire that deepens distrust of Mr. Johnson. It is why so many have turned away from the President and are renewed by the discriminating, candid, composed judgments of Eugene McCarthy.

But there is Robert Kennedy, too. Last week, Senator McCarthy said that since his position and that of Mr. Kennedy "are the same on most issues," he would "have to support" Kennedy if it became clear at the convention in August that McCarthy could not get the nomination. That puts first things first – not the personal fortunes of McCarthy, but the need for a qualitative change in leadership. Mr. Kennedy did not immediately reciprocate, though he should, and may still. In his own interest, if for no other reason, he will be wise to do all he can to demonstrate that he regards himself as secondary to the cause of peace abroad and at home; and to show, too, his respect for the person and views of Mr. McCarthy. From the moment Kennedy made his open bid, the prickly question was whether these two men could run against each other without rancor, whether their two candidacies would be complementary as well as competitive. The strain on both of them will be severe. Their battle cannot be fought without bruises given and received. They and the country can survive that – if the common goal is not lost sight of: cutting the maximum number of convention delegates away from Lyndon Johnson, and assembling enough of them to block his renomination on the first ballot. Not one delegate's vote is insignificant; energies cannot be dissipated in recriminations between partisans of the two senators. 2,622 delegate votes will be cast in Chicago; 1,312 of them are needed to nominate. In 28 of the 50 states, there is no real popular participation in the selection of convention delegates. In the others, plus the District of Columbia – and they account for 1,522 delegates – there is a significant element of popular choice. In these 22 states (and D.C.), delegates are picked in a variety of ways. The laws are tricky, mastering the machinery is onerous, but the popular will can be expressed. In 12 states (911 convention votes) the names of presidential candidates are on a primary ballot – California, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Massa-

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chusetts, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Ohio, New Hampshire, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota. On each of these ballots Senator McCarthy's name appears; Senator Kennedy's on some of them. Delegates are bound by unit rule one place, in another not. In Washington, D. C., McCarthy-Kennedy forces have agreed to a single slate to oppose the President. In California, Oregon and Nebraska there will be separate McCarthy and Kennedy slates.

Seemingly impregnable Johnson strongholds are no longer secure. An example of that is the rebellion in John Bailey's home state of Connecticut (see page 8). Nevada is another instance. There, hard precinct work initiated by a small band of peace-minded Reno Democrats, mostly professors from the state university, succeeded in getting seven of the 22 delegates who were picked at a state meeting the day Robert Kennedy announced. Conservative Nevada had been thought safe for LBJ. According to an observer at the state meeting, "many of the 15 pledged to Johnson are shaky and could change if an effective challenge to the President emerges in coming months."

The truth that has come upon the country in the past several weeks is that the Democratic Party is not, as many Democrats feared and many Republicans hoped, sterile. We need no longer be resigned to the nation's being "rescued" by Richard Nixon.

Agitated Eastern Europe

Like some other administrations, the Polish communist regime is having trouble persuading its people to, as President Johnson would put it, "support your leaders and your government." Last week, Wladislaw Gomulka got up to address a big crowd in Warsaw and was sarcastically cheered by students who had skillfully dispersed throughout the hall so that the police couldn't get at them without disrupting the speech. The students were wise not to heckle in clumps, for the government has already incarcerated 366 students, one for each day in a Leap Year, following recent student demonstrations. The students accuse the police of killing several youths, then keeping their deaths a state secret. Polish university faculty members who were recently released from jail, where they were put last fall for criticizing the party line, are now back in prison. All this must taste very bitter to Gomulka, who 12 years ago was returned to power on the shoulders of applauding students, after he himself had spent years in jail for defying Stalin.

The students rioted because the government closed down an old play, *Dziady* ("ancestors"). "We couldn't allow it," Gomulka explained last week, "to become a springboard for anti-Russian attacks." A piece of romantic, 19th-century Polish nationalism, *Dziady* contains such contemporaneously significant lines as: "All Moscow sends us are spies, jackasses and fools." The audiences who flocked to *Dziady*, until the government closed it down, waited eagerly for such gems, then applauded them wildly. There is a double irony in the situation that has erupted from the government's ban on the play. Gomulka, the students' former hero, sent the police against the students for protesting the closing of *Dziady*. Some of the protesting students were beaten up by police on the steps of St. Ann's Church, in Warsaw. And *Dziady's* author, Adam Mickiewicz, was inspired to write his piece by what happened on the steps of St. Ann's Church in 1831, when Tsarist police attacked youthful demonstrators following an unsuccessful Polish revolt against Russian rule.

Although the government has forbidden showings of *Dziady*, almost all Polish schoolchildren have read it. Most Poles are anti-Russian practically from birth. The Poles, however, also have a long unsavory record of anti-Semitism, and the man who is believed to be Gomulka's most powerful rival, the security chief General Moczar, tried to tie in the Jews with the rebellious students and faculty members, declaring they were hatching a "Zionist plot." There are only about 30,000 Jews now in Poland; and Gomulka to his credit refused to push anti-Semitism in his speech last week. He said all Jews who wished to go to Israel were free to emigrate, but that he hoped those who stayed could identify themselves with Polish nationalism and also recognize the wisdom of friendship between Poland and Russia. That remark may have been intended more for the Jew-baiting Moczar than for the Jews themselves. Moczar is a Silesian and there has been a trace of a suggestion that he tends to be Silesian first, Pole second, communist third.

Czech newspaper correspondents who wrote stories about the student demonstrations have been expelled from Poland for being too sympathetic to the students and insufficiently appreciative of the government's side. Gomulka still holds his job as first secretary of the Polish Communist Party, but the Czech president, Novotny, has lost his party rating and has been replaced as communist leader of Czechoslovakia by Alexander Dubcek, who promises "widest possible democratization." Novotny may come to trial. Novotny's son was denied an exit visa, and the deputy defense minister, General Janko, shot himself. Both men, and the Czech president, were close associates of General Sejna, who last month fled from Prague to this country, reportedly taking with him the order-of-battle plans of the Warsaw Pact armies. The Czechs under their new political leadership are calling for Sejna's extradition, saying it's a shame for America to give asylum to an "old Stalinist" like Sejna. They

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want to put Sejna on trial.

All this East Europe ferment is bad medicine for Moscow. The Poles and Czechs seem to be about to follow the Rumanians on the road of old-fashioned nationalism. The Russians have troops in Poland, and close to Czechoslovakia, but something like Hungary 1956, when Soviet tanks crushed a popular uprising, seems improbable. The Russians are stuck with their own words, addressed last week by *Pravda* to Fidel Castro, of all people. Rebuking Castro's apparent policy of wanting to impose his form of communism on Latin America, by force, *Pravda* said that the Soviet Union "does not interfere in the domestic affairs of any country." The Poles and Czechs must be hoping that *Pravda* speaks truth.

Hershey's Draft

Military deferments, wrote that artful sophist, Lieutenant General Lewis Hershey in his now-famous letter to draft boards, "are given only when they serve the national interest. It is obvious that any act that violates the Military Selective Service Act . . . cannot be in the national interest. It follows that those who violate [it] should be denied deferment in the national interest." *Q.E.D.* However, all this is merely Hershey's personal opinion, as he, his sycophants at the Selective Service System, and even a federal judge have said; it has no binding force on draft boards. The fact that the opinion emanates from the respected and powerful director, that it is written on very official-looking stationery, that it goes to 4,088 rather compliant boards and that it does affect their individual draft policies is said to be irrelevant: the letter may smack of *authoritarianism,* but it is not *authoritative.* Hershey's job description states that he is "responsible directly to the President" and that he "prescribes such rules and regulations as he shall deem necessary" for administering the system. Hershey's "draft dissenters" letter was not printed in the federal register, as such rules and regulations must be to have any force, therefore it is not official.

When the National Student Association, the Students for a Democratic Society and the Campus Americans for Democratic Action got an ACLU lawyer to go to federal court to protest the letter they learned that a judge cannot overrule a personal opinion – even one that seems to have the force of law. So said Judge George Hart of the US District Court this month.

A few excerpts from the Hershey letter show its intent, however: "Demonstrations, when they become illegal, have produced . . . much evidence that relates to the basis for classification and, in some instances, even to violation of the act and regulations. Any material of this nature received in national headquarters or any other segment of the system should be sent to state directors for forwarding to appropriate local boards for their consideration. A local board, upon receipt of this information, may reopen the classification of the registrant, classify him anew, and if evidence of violation of the act and regulations is established, also to declare the registrant to be a delinquent and to process him accordingly. This should include all registrants with remaining liability up to 35 years of age. If the United States attorney should desire to prosecute before the local board has ordered the registrant for induction, full cooperation will be given him and developments in the case should be reported to the state director and by him to national headquarters."

Hershey thus takes it upon himself to define the national interest. He interprets the meaning of a law as it pertains to delinquents, and, if his strong verbs are to be taken seriously, tells boards to make a judicial determination and draft dissenters. He does not entertain the thought that the right to dissent itself is in the nation's interest. He ignores the basic intent of the delinquency provision of the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 and its predecessor law, both of which pertain to such matters as keeping one's board apprised of one's address, reporting for a physical when called and carrying a draft card, but not draft board sit-ins.

Pressure on the Administration, following disclosure of Hershey's October 26 letter, resulted in a joint statement by the General and Attorney General Ramsey Clark setting up a special unit at Justice to prosecute draft law violations and announcing a "speedup" of investigations. The statement, which was intentionally loose, seemed to say that delinquency notices would continue to be issued for traditional reasons and that lawful, or even unlawful, protest would not be penalized by draft boards. The communique was carefully worded so as not to appear a rebuke to General Hershey. Had Hershey accepted the "compromise" or even understood what it was, he would have been off the hook. But he reacted with bafflement to the suggestion that he had changed his position. Even now, the official Selective Service line on the original Hershey letter is that "it has never been retracted, revised, amended or rescinded." Neither the conference with Ramsey Clark nor the furore about the letter "changed his mind sufficiently for him to do anything about the letter." His "personal opinion" hasn't changed.

There are no computers humming at the national headquarters of Selective Service, turning out rosters of drafted delinquents. Literally no one knows how many men have been affected by Hershey's letter. Selective Service does know that as of January 31 there were 35,653,291 living registrants and that of them 17,391 were on that date delinquent for one reason

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or another. But the reasons for their delinquency cannot be sorted out. Until recently it was not even impossible for registrants in many areas to find out who their board members were, though if the registrant was from the South he could be pretty sure none of the members was black. Except for a cause célèbre, the public never knows whose opinions a board is listening to.

Judge George Hart, in throwing out the National Student Association's suit, said that anyone who feels his board has done him wrong has other avenues for a redress of grievances. One is to appeal a board's decision to the board. "The right of appeal from a Selective Service classification was intentionally made so broad and simple" states a Selective Service publication informing registrants of their rights, "that no one could sincerely claim prejudice or unfairness on the part of any local board."

The procedure *is* simple enough. One merely writes a letter saying "I want to appeal," giving his board his name, his address and his signature. The registrant's file is then sent to a state appeal board, which is like a draft board in that it is composed of a group of volunteer citizens. The state appeal board cannot consider any information the local board has not seen and no one is allowed to appear before it. (A registrant may be granted a personal audience with his local board but may not have counsel present, and his personal appearance is not considered an appeal.) If the appeal board is unanimous in turning down an appeal, the appellant has no recourse. If it is not, the appeal can be taken to the President, or rather, to a national appeal board designated by the President, but then only if the state Selective Service director or General Hershey agrees to sponsor it. There is no appeal from a decision by the national appeal board.

Crime and Punishment

A study just completed for the California legislature confirms again what criminologists have strongly suspected at least since Cesare Beccaria's *Essay on Crime and Punishments* in 1764: severe penalties are not an effective deterrent to crime.

The California legislature study *(Crime and Penalties in California)* has examined, among other things, the effects of increased penalties in the state for attacks on policemen and for marijuana violations.

Prior to 1961 any assault with a deadly weapon was punishable by a fine of $5,000 and/or up to a year in jail or up to 10 years in a state prison. In that year the legislature enacted the first special penalties for attacks on police, which were further increased in 1963 and 1965. Conviction now carries a mandatory state prison sentence of five years to life. But since 1961 the rate of attacks on police in Los Angeles County (where half the state's felony arrests take place) went up from 8.4 per 100 cops per year to 15.8 – an increase of 90 percent. "After five years of increasing penalties," the report concludes, "a Los Angeles policeman was almost twice as likely to be attacked. . . ."

Also in 1961 the legislature increased the penalties for possession of marijuana from a maximum one year in jail (and this was at the judge's option) to a mandatory one-to-10 years in state prison. Penalties for sale were also boosted. The number of arrests for marijuana offenses rose from 3,500 in 1961 to more than 18,000 in 1966. They probably would have risen anyway; the point is, the tougher penalty did not deter. California courts have become increasingly reluctant to convict. Some 47 percent of adults arrested on marijuana charges in 1961 were convicted and 26 percent were sent to prison. In 1966, only 31 percent of those arrested were subsequently convicted, and only 13 percent were jailed.

McCarthy in Connecticut

From Our Special Correspondent

Along the mainline of the New Haven Railroad, in Fairfield County, Connecticut, that symbol of affluent exurbia, McCarthy Democrats have thrown buckets of sand into Democratic National Chairman John Bailey's state machine. In New Canaan, Westport, Wilton and Weston, McCarthy supporters carried the recent Democratic town meetings and elected McCarthy delegates to the Connecticut State Democratic Convention which will in turn select a delegation for Chicago. Suburban Woodbridge and Bethany, just outside of New Haven, followed suit. In Greenwich, Stamford, Darien and Norwalk, in New Haven, Hamden, Hartford and West Hartford, indeed in some 32 Connecticut towns and cities, McCarthy forces are at work on primaries that challenge the Johnson slates named by the Bailey organization and its local offshoots. McCarthy already has about 100 pledged delegates – better than 10 percent of the total to be chosen – for the state convention in June; the primaries could triple his count. Connecticut is behaving like New Hampshire, and in John Bailey's home state, noted for the rigidity of its Democratic leadership and of its election laws alike, it is something of a miracle.

This is no "children's crusade." It derives much of its inspiration and energy from middle-aged, middle-class voters, ordinarily only observers of politics, who are this year practicing the arts of the possible with enthusiasm and efficacy. The commuters and their

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wives have dedicated allies among students and faculties at Trinity, Wesleyan, Yale and other Connecticut colleges and universities. They have enlisted prestigious workers: among their sponsors and delegates or delegates-aspirant are Mark Van Doren, Barbara Tuchman, William Shirer, William Styron, the playwright Arthur Miller, and James Tobin, Yale economist and former member of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers. Directing the entire operation is Joseph D. Duffey, a young ADA veteran and Congregational minister, whose political skills match his moral outrage.

In many of the forthcoming primaries, Duffey and his forces confront formidable city machines, but the outcome is by no means foreordained. "These people," Bailey has admitted, "have a cause. They will come out, while we will have to drag our voters out." Duffey has defined that cause: "We are asking of our party a fundamental right . . . the right to be heard and represented. We are told that we should be quiet because party unity will be essential if Johnson faces Nixon. But let it be known that if Johnson faces Nixon the disorder and disunity of the Democratic Party will be insignificant . . . in the face of the disorder and disillusion and disaffection of the nation." Duffey wants to force Bailey to abandon the unit rule and accept McCarthy delegates to Chicago in a number proportionate to the Senator's support within the state. The abandonment of the unit rule is equally important to Connecticut supporters of Robert Kennedy, many of them hardy party professionals. "Bailey," Duffey argues, "just can't push aside a sizable percentage of the state's Democrats, and if we can pick up enough strength, we can show him that he can't."

Bailey may, of course, try to ignore the evidence of the town meetings already held and the primaries still to come, but in that case his is apt to be a Pyrrhic victory. The Kennedy forces now mobilizing will not retreat without a fight. More important, Bailey is not confronted, as his local agents like to pretend, largely by kids from college, though to be sure McCarthy has captured the loyalty of the campuses. He is confronted by the most responsible, the most notable, the most intelligent and the wealthiest members of the Democratic Party in Connecticut. They are fed up with the war in Vietnam; fed up with the continuing failure of Democratic leaders in federal, state and local administrations to attack the blight and despair of the cities; fed up with the high-handed tactics of the Democratic organization. Perhaps Bailey and his allies can control the Democratic Party in Connecticut in the face of a joint McCarthy-Kennedy effort but unless Bailey proves to be more responsive than the President has been, the Democratic Party will probably lose Connecticut. Before Robert Kennedy entered the race, Joe Duffey and his political amateurs from exurbia were already demonstrating that probability.

Monetary Gold: The Tortoise or the Hare?

Each generation, it seems, must wrestle with its gold crisis. Thirty-five years ago the age-old attachment to gold was at the center of an economic convulsion that cost nations dearly – Britain, the United States, and France in succession, to mention only the largest – until they shook loose of gold domestically in favor of managed money. Thirty-odd years before that William Jennings Bryan denounced the Pontius Pilates of High Finance for crucifying mankind on a cross of gold. And 30 years before that, in 1867, the first of many unsuccessful international conferences was held to fix the place of gold relative to other monies. But irregular progress has been made, and if today's monetary officials are doing their jobs properly, the current gold crisis will be the last.

The monetary role of gold has gradually shrunk to one of residual settlements of international payments between some countries some of the time. It is only a question of time before even this residual function is shed, for it has come into increasing conflict with the usefulness of gold as a non-ferrous metal with certain desirable electrical properties and an attractive appearance. Gold consumption in the United States, where hoarding is prohibited by law, has grown from $90 million in 1960 to an estimated $220 million in 1967; industrial and hoarding demands are also growing elsewhere. Total private demand for gold in 1967, including heavy speculative demands, absorbed not only $1.4 billion of new production but over $1 billion in monetary gold stocks as well, fed into the London gold market by seven central banks (the "gold pool") to stabilize the price. Monetary gold, in short, is on its way out; the only issue is whether it goes out smoothly and gradually (it is too late to go out unobtrusively), at low cost to the payments system, or whether it takes down with it the impressive edifice of international trade and investment built up so successfully over the past two decades. The answer depends on the present monetary officials; it is in their power to put the matter right.

The gold issue is fundamentally separate from, but is deeply complicated by, the huge US payments defi-

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cit. The conflict between monetary and non-monetary uses of gold must come to a head sooner or later. The US payments deficit brings it to a head sooner, by making more plausible the possibility of near-term speculative gains on a rise in the price of gold. The US deficit complicates the gold question further by weakening the resolve of forward-looking European officials, who recognize the need ultimately to supplement and even supplant monetary gold, but who also regard their conversion of dollars into gold as a final discipline on the United States, whose economic behavior can now be justly, if loosely, characterized as "irresponsible" from an international point of view. Failure by the United States to stabilize its economy through fiscal and monetary action exerts inflationary pressures on the rest of the world, pressures over which other countries have no direct influence.

Paradoxically, however, a rise in the official price of gold is not a logical consequence of unrestrained US payments deficits. It would help reduce the deficit only if the value of the dollar were to fall *in terms of other currencies*. But the view is widespread that any increase in the dollar price of gold would be accompanied by similar increases in other currencies, leaving exchange rates among currencies unchanged. Most countries would not welcome improved competitiveness of American products in their markets, either at home or abroad. That being so, a rise in the dollar price of gold *need not* have profound effects, beyond the initial turbulence such a move would undoubtedly generate, on the course of world trade, investment or productive activity. It would run the danger, however, of unleashing defensive and ultimately irrational and self-defeating moves by individuals, businesses and even governments to convert their currencies into gold, to stop payments through normal channels, even to restrict trade.

Such effects as a rise in the price of gold would have can be analyzed under three headings: macro-economic, allocative, and redistributive. Of these, the redistributive effect would be far the most important.

Jacques Rueff looks to a rise in the price of gold (combined with extinction of the dollar as a reserve currency) to halt world inflation. Sir Roy Harrod looks to a rise in the price of gold to permit continued economic expansion. In fact, a rise in the gold price would not have a decisive macro-economic effect either way. Most major countries today have notions about how their domestic economies should be managed and know more or less how to do it. They are not likely to be induced into expansionary policies by a rise in the value of their gold reserves. (Germany's inability or unwillingness to inflate is not due to inadequate reserves, and even Britain's economic policy would probably not be affected much by larger reserves, as distinguished from a stronger payments position.) Countries have also shown a readiness to restrict international transactions rather than deflate substantially for balance-of-payments reasons.

Similarly, the allocative effects of a rise in the price of gold would be moderate; the process of substituting gold for more expensive metals in industrial use would be slowed, and several non-ferrous metals would be given a fillip in price.

The principal effect, however, would be redistributive: to improve the terms of trade of net gold-producing countries, notably South Africa and the Soviet Union; to give a capital gain, in terms of command over goods and services, to the large gold-holding countries, notably the United States, France, Germany, and Switzerland; and, under the peculiarities of the International Monetary Fund, to impose a capital loss on those whose debts to the IMF exceed their gold holdings, largely less-developed countries. This is a pattern of redistribution that hardly recommends itself.

While France has a sinister and self-serving interest in increasing the price of monetary gold, not only as part of de Gaulle's war on the American hegemony, but also because it would augment the private and public wealth of France – at the expense of others – the rest of the world does not. Even France's former minister of finance, Giscard d'Estaing, observed in 1965 that it would be a "bonus to those who have elected to play no normal part in international financial life." Happily, the gold parity of the dollar can be changed only by an act of Congress, a legal constraint that lends persuasive force to the US government's claim that it will not raise the price of gold. The Secretary of the Treasury can, however, on his own initiative stop selling or buying gold, or choose to sell or buy selectively, subject only to some loose constraints imposed by US membership in the IMF.

The two-price system for gold agreed on by the gold pool this month in Washington attempts to isolate gold in the monetary system from gold in the private market, thereby pitting industrial users and traditional hoarders, on the one hand, against new gold production and Russian gold sales on the other. Speculators could appear on either side of the equation, but until last week they had every incentive to add their weight to the side of demand, since they could bet on a rise in the price of gold above $35 an ounce without running the risk of a fall. Speculative purchases since last November approach $2 billion. They might now begin to wonder, however, about *who* will buy all this gold at a higher price. Perhaps the most significant feature of the Washington agreement among the major central banks is that they "no longer feel it necessary to buy gold from the market." This

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is a bold move, for it puts the world on notice that new demand for gold for monetary purposes by the major countries will be nonexistent – if the agreement sticks. The balance of demand for gold for industrial use and hoarding against new supplies would almost certainly lead to a market-clearing price below $35 an ounce, although the long-term trend is upward and South Africa, like Brazil with coffee, could always support the price by withholding supplies from the market. Speculative purchases are, of course, capable of holding up the price for some time, and will do so if there is any chance that the officials' hands can be forced. Some speculators apparently already have doubts, however. When the price on the Paris market rose above $44 an ounce on March 15, some profit-taking pushed it back sharply below $40.

The officials' position is not plausible without access to the Special Drawing Rights (SDR's) on the International Monetary Fund, agreed on in principle at the Rio Conference last September. SDR's now become all the more necessary to augment reserves, not only for long-run strategic reasons, but also for short-run tactical ones. The meeting of Finance Ministers and Central Bankers at Stockholm this week to approve the new substitute for monetary gold in technical detail becomes all the more important. France, which officially would like an increase in the price of gold, has greater reason to attempt to block or delay agreement; the others have greater reason to push ahead with it quickly. In a game with uncertainty and speculation, where confidence in the monetary system itself is at stake, to be effective requires being convincing; and to be convincing requires being bold. The Group of Ten should not merely approve the SDR scheme at Stockholm, but it should hint strongly at early activation, possibly to replace the monetary gold recently lost. And it should make clearer than the Washington communiqué did that not only will central banks that *sell* gold in private markets lose their privilege of buying gold from the United States, but also that central banks *buying* gold in private markets cannot count on selling it to the United States. This would make the insulation between monetary and non-monetary gold complete and would, along with the new SDR's, surmount what could be the last gold crisis ever faced by monetary authorities.

In this race, the gold speculators may have been too quick; for in their role as tortoise the financial officials have it in their power to change the rules declaring a winner, and we can justifiably expect the prospect of losing to induce them to do just that.

Richard N. Cooper

Mr. Cooper *has been on the staff of the President's Council of Economic Advisers and is now professor of economics at Yale.*

The Belated Civil Rights Legislation of 1968

Continuing what had become an annual practice, President Johnson in the spring of 1966 sent a civil rights bill up to Congress which, among other things, dealt with housing, a subject omitted from the 1964 and 1965 acts. The House, this being the Congress that was elected in 1964, passed a bill that summer, but it was in an unpretty mood by then. There was a highly unedifying debate, and while the compromise finally struck on the housing provision had many excellent features, an anti-riot title got tacked on which was at best silly. The Senate could not break a filibuster that year, which is to say that Mr. Dirksen would not, so in the end there was no statute.

A few months later, C. Vann Woodward, the great historian of Reconstruction, observed that "with all due resistance to superficial parallels, we have been unable to avoid comparisons between past history and lived experience. For we have witnessed in our own time . . . the sudden rush and elation of victory – and then felt the onset of reaction and the fading of high hopes." It would be too facile, wrote Mr. Woodward, for some future historian, "say on the eve of the Third Reconstruction," to diagnose what happened in 1966 as the end of the Second Reconstruction; but there would be something to such a diagnosis.

Looking back a year and a half later, after more and worse riots and the ravages of escalation in Vietnam, the hypothesis of the end of the Second Reconstruction seems even more plausible. It remains plausible despite passage in the Senate on March 11, by a vote of 71-20, of a civil rights bill resembling the President's submission of 1966. For as Mr. Woodward also suggested, what has happened since 1966 is not merely a change in mood, a failure to sustain purpose. What has happened is that our attention has necessarily turned to problems different in kind; from the legal structure of discrimination in the South, which could be dismantled by law, to conditions of disadvantage in the North, which will not answer to statutes declaring and enforcing rights. The need now is not so much to sustain a purpose – though we could do with a bit more of that than we are getting – as to conceive a new one, and one infinitely more difficult of accomplishment. The more reluctant, uglier mood of the country in part reflects this change in the nature of the problem; it did not bring it about.

The bill the Senate has passed, while thoroughly welcome, is an effort to resume the Second Reconstruction, not to commence the necessary Third. But the real tasks now are new and different, and in

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this sense the Second Reconstruction *is* over; it did end in 1966. The work that needs to be done now is outlined, at least in terms of goals, by the report of the President's Riot Commission, and nobody seems prepared to do it on the required scale. This bill, even if it passes unscathed through the House, won't do it either.

The main feature of the bill is Title VIII – "Fair Housing." In coverage it compares quite favorably with the 1966 bill passed by the House. Where the House bill applied mainly to apartments and to private homes in new developments – some 40 percent of housing, it was estimated, and very little of that in the suburbs – this bill covers a great deal more. After December 31, 1968, aside from dwellings operated by churches and certain private clubs, the only housing exempted, that is, the only kind of housing whose owners will have a license to discriminate, will be single family homes, and after December 1969, only if sold or rented by the owner without a broker and without advertising indicating racial preferences, and units in two-, three- or four-family houses in which the owner himself lives. Vacant lots are covered, which means that people cannot be kept from building individual homes in the suburbs.

The bill defines the forbidden discrimination by brokers and owners in great detail, and prohibits also discrimination by institutions that write mortgages. In providing for enforcement, however, what the Senate did compares rather unfavorably with the House bill of 1966. That bill created a federal Fair Housing Board equipped with powers very much like those of the National Labor Relations Board, which were thus greater than any possessed by other federal agencies concerned with civil rights, with the possible exception of the attorney general under the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Senate this time was content to give conciliation and persuasion authority to the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and to allow suits by private parties, and by the attorney general, if he finds that "any person or group of persons is engaged in a pattern or practice of resistance to the full enjoyment of any of the rights granted by this title, or that any group of persons has been denied any of the rights granted by this title and such denial raises an issue of general public importance."

The relief that a private litigant may obtain is not only injunctive (an order to the discriminating owner or agent to sell, or rent, and the like), but can include damages to compensate the plaintiff for monetary losses he may have suffered as a result of the discrimination, and also punitive damages of not more than $1,000 and a reasonable award for attorney's fees. But if in the meantime the property has been sold or rented to someone else, who took it in good faith, without actual knowledge of the existence of a lawsuit, there can be no injunctive relief enabling the plaintiff to get the property. And if the plaintiff demands punitive damages, the Seventh Amendment very likely entitles the defendant to a jury trial, in which event even the injunction may depend upon the jury's verdict; and juries, one must assume, will be uncertain quantities in such cases. Nevertheless, the bill will help. There will be some Negroes and others who will have the satisfaction and economic benefit of winning suits against discriminating sellers, landlords and agents, and litigation by the attorney general may from time to time achieve broader results. Moreover, there will be a declaratory effect. A degree of voluntary compliance is to be expected; and it may be considerable. The bill is a good thing, but it will not break up the ghettoes, and would not do so even if its enforcement provisions were stronger.

Other parts of the bill include a serviceable Title punishing interference by anyone, not merely state officials, with the enjoyment of rights created here or in previous civil rights statutes. But there is also, as there was in the 1966 House bill, a Title on riots, and an additional new one on civil disobedience, which are altogether deplorable. Whoever travels interstate or uses the mail, telegraph, telephone, radio or television with intent to riot or to incite to riot is subjected to a penalty of five years in jail and a fine of $10,000. The same penalty applies to anyone who teaches the use of firearms or explosives to persons known to be intending to engage in civil disorders that obstruct commerce, or transports or manufactures for transportation in interstate commerce firearms or explosives for use in civil disorders, or impedes firemen or law enforcement officers who are dealing with civil disorders that obstruct commerce.

These provisions, tied as they necessarily must be, in order to establish federal jurisdiction, to tenuous connections with interstate commerce, will be difficult to enforce. They will in any event apply to few situations, being based on the theory that rioters and their weapons are imported rather than being indigenous, and in many applications they are, at best, marginally constitutional. To whatever extent they are both enforceable and constitutional, they mark an utterly uncalled-for intrusion of federal authority into an area of local responsibility which the states are thoroughly capable of occupying. Where were all the states' rights advocates when this rape of state jurisdiction was perpetrated? Why, leading the chorus in the mindless cry that if we have had riots and more are in prospect, there ought to be a law; that's where they were. It is all too painfully senseless.

ALEXANDER M. BICKEL

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A Case for Cutting NASA's Budget

Criticism of our space program is overdue. In the last eight fiscal years the United States has spent more than $30 billion on it – not $20 billion in 10 years, as President Johnson maintains. We have made more than 500 space launches, our astronauts have completed more than 1,300 man-orbits around the earth, we can now realistically assess the worth of manned space flight. Finally, Project Apollo's termination in 1969-1970 makes mandatory a sharp drop in the National Aeronautics and Space Administration budget. No agency likes to get less than it got last year from Congress, and NASA is very Parkinsonian in this respect. NASA officials defend their budget as though it should remain indefinitely at a $5 billion annual level. To sustain a high budget level NASA has inflated its appropriation request, the biggest chunk of the inflation being the Apollo Applications program. In my opinion this program lacks sound scientific and technical justification, though it does have political significance in an election year.

The Apollo Applications program ($500 million a year) involves the orbiting of huge satellites, three-man crews at first and then six-man crew missions. It thus comes into direct competition with the Manned Orbital Laboratory (MOL) program of the Air Force. This senseless duplication of effort needs to be stopped. I have seen no real evidence justifying the Saturn V Workshop or, for that matter, any NASA manned missions once the lunar venture is successful.

The real basis of congressional support for manned space ventures beyond Apollo is presumably national security, but there's more to it than that. For example, in 1965 NASA funds awarded to California totaled $2.2 billion and accounted for 100,000 employees in that state. This year the NASA administrative operations amount to $671 million and involve seven centers each having a budget of more than $67 million. Cutbacks hurt politically. Nevertheless, since the role of man in space is so undefined, I believe that after Apollo, manned space flight should be assigned to the US Air Force, and that NASA's budget be lowered to $1.5 billion per year.

Casting about for some means of selling a larger budget, NASA has taken to playing up the dollars and cents value of the space program. For instance, the National Academy of Sciences has just released a report titled "Space Applications Summer Study, Interim Report," which states:

"Our first general conclusion is that the potential economic benefits to our society from space systems are enormous. They may amount to billions of dollars per year to many diverse elements of our industry and commerce and thus to the public."

General B. A. Schriever, in the course of his Goddard lecture on March 4, 1968 predicted: "This nation is on the verge of receiving an annual return larger than its annual investment in space. And, within the next decade, these returns should be several times our annual investment."

Dr. Wernher von Braun forecast in *Technology Week* (Jan. 23, 1967): "Our surveys indicate that gains up to $83 billion a year can soon be available to humanity through knowledge spawned from space research."

Finally, President Johnson, visiting the Saturn V assembly facility at Michoud, Louisiana, on Dec. 12, 1967, said: "We have invested some $20 billion in the past 10 years. But the value to our nation of this $20 billion and this successful space program may be *millions* of times greater than the investment we made." [Italics added.]

Now if any of these four optimistic estimates is even remotely correct, industry should be ready and willing to invest its own funds in such a lucrative undertaking. We can do away with further federal subsidy of space technology. With the precedent of the Satellite Communications Act of 1962 in mind, the Congress should establish a corporation to promote and exploit the peacetime applications of space technology. A Space Systems Applications Corporation should be set up and financed through a stock issue, a substantial fraction of the total shares to be allocated to aerospace companies. Public ownership would be encouraged through the usual brokerage procedures. SSAC would operate along the lines of ComSat, even to the extent of cooperative ventures, but it would confine itself to applications of orbital surveillance of the earth's land-air-ocean surface. These would include applications in the fields of agriculture, water resources, mineral resources, commercial marine life, meteorology, mapping and navigation. Because of the US government's financing of research and development in these fields to date, SSAC would be enjoined to provide its services to the federal government on a cost-reimbursable basis.

Had President Kennedy been confronted in 1961 with a choice – sending men to the moon or bringing relief to the ghettoes – I think he would have postponed the Apollo project. Today we still have a choice. A firm decision on post-Apollo, at a saving of $3 billion per year, could signal a new order of national priorities. Surely, people in the ghetto must view manned and orbital flight as space-larking.

Ralph E. Lapp

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"Lo, the Poor Indian"

The cry of "Lo, the Poor Indian" resounded once again from Washington this month — this time in the form of a special presidential message to Congress. Like a torrent of previous statements on the "Forgotten American" flowing from the Department of Interior, the President said most of the right things and used most of the compassionate adjectives. As in former years and former Administrations, emphasis was placed on self-help, self-determination, a higher economic standard of living, better education, improved health care, manpower training, new roads and a bill of rights for the 400,000 reservation Indians.

Is there anything new here, other than further action-displacing sympathy that has bred a hard skepticism into most Indians long resigned to poverty in perpetuity? Clearly, a direct White House commitment to Indian betterment, for the first time, gives the mission greater visibility and importance. There is a 12 percent increase in overall Indian appropriations requested of Congress for fiscal year 1969. But beyond that, the President's message avoided dealing with the enduring organizational dry rot upon which these programs are being advanced, namely, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

One hundred and nineteen years ago, the BIA was established in the Department of Interior with both presumed and actual missions. The former dealt with improving the lot of the Indian; the latter with facilitating the encroachment on or exploitation of Indian lands and resources. Under the Bureau's aegis and congressional directive, the Indian land base shrunk from 150 million acres to the present 53 million acres — about the size of New England. For generations the Bureau presided over people without a future. Indians were called "wards," were culturally devastated, physically pushed around and entwined in the most intricate web of bureaucratic regulations and rulings ever inflicted anywhere in this nation's history. **They still are.**

In the meantime, the BIA has prospered, growing to its present size of approximately 16,000 employees providing the services of a federal, state and local government in one administrative bundle. Together with smaller programs in Indian health (under the Public Health Service) and antipoverty programs (in OEO), current fiscal year appropriations for Indians totaled about $460 million or an average income per reservation family of some $5,600 if paid out in cash. The average family income is $1,500 per annum.

The Indian budget has been increasing at a rate that has doubled in the past decade. Yet the picture on the reservations is drab and grim. The present poverty tally is a 40 percent unemployment rate (with much underemployment), grossly dilapidated housing, at least 30 percent illiteracy, two-thirds the life expectancy and less than a third of the average income of other Americans, rampant disease including a tuberculosis incidence seven times the national average.

Anyone who has followed Indian affairs finds these figures to be a dreary redundancy of past recitations. With the exception of some advances in Indian health, reservation conditions remain as bad or worse than 10 or 20 years ago. In the past decade a new dimension of despair has emerged in the form of 200,000 Indians in city slums such as Los Angeles, Denver and Minneapolis. But the BIA continues to exude fads of hope – whether it is relocation away from the reservations, tourism, mineral development and the latest unfilled expectation – bringing industry to the reservations.

Prior to the President's message, the White House rejected the major recommendation of the President's Task Force on American Indians to transfer primary responsibility for Indian affairs from the Secretary of Interior to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. The Task Force, in its still secret 104-page report completed in 1966, urged the shift to HEW on the grounds that 75 percent of total Indian appropriations is allocated to health, education and welfare functions. About 53 percent of the BIA budget ($250 million in fiscal 1968) goes toward its education function on the reservations. With responsibility for Indian health services already in HEW, the Task Force diplomatically concluded by emphasizing that "HEW program emphasis on conservation and natural resources."

Beneath such a placid rationale was the disgust and despair felt by many of the Task Force's members at the performance of the Bureau. The Task Force report took note of the widespread impression that "too many BIA employees were simply time-servers of mediocre or poor competence who remained indefinitely because they were willing to serve in unattractive posts at low rates of pay for long periods of time; that too many had unconsciously anti-Indian attitudes and are convinced that Indians are really hopelessly incompetent and their behavior reflects this assumption."

Building on numerous previous government (Hoover-type) critiques of the BIA's changeless ways, the Task Force ticked off a list of "discoveries" which shocked it: "The Bureau has no really hard data on population dynamics, income, employment, education . . . grossly inadequate data on which to base development plans. *The Bureau does not even have one trained statistician on its staff at the present time* [its emphasis]. . . . A related matter, equally shocking to the Task Force, was the total absence of any R & D

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funds in the BIA budget."

The Task Force, were it not divided into a majority and small minority position over shifting the BIA's functions to HEW, might have made a far stronger case against the BIA. Illustratively, Senator Robert Kennedy's subcommittee has pointed attention to the failure in quantity and quality of BIA reservation schools. Since these schools breed despondency, cultural inferiority and alienation, it is not surprising that the dropout rate exceeds 50 percent. Mismanagement of BIA's supervisory responsibilities over land, timber and water resources is legion. Last year BIA negligence led to major forest fires including one on the Mescalero Apache Reservation in New Mexico and another on the Quinault Reservation in Washington. BIA has managed to oversee the leasing and franchising of valuable reservation property rights and income opportunities into predominantly non-Indian hands. Even busboys in the restaurants on the Cherokee reservation are non-Indian; while Indian boys stand or sit idly by the roadside. Still, the BIA will not supply inquirers with a list of all the franchises given non-Indians on the reservations.

Secrecy in the BIA has bordered on the Byzantine. The complexities of the government-Indian trust relationships, the undisclosed details of trust funds held in the Treasury Department, and the fractionated land heirship problem on reservations are all wrapped up in the BIA's endemic secrecy. It is not even possible to receive from the Bureau a reliable estimate as to the number of Indians on the reservations who are not serviced. Moreover, services are uneven in any given program and a few reservations become BIA "favorites" for one program or another, depending on the needs of Indian politics.

By not dealing with the fundamental malaise of the BIA, the White House will see its slightly refurbished proposals consigned to a limbo of resonant rhetoric. Quite possibly, the Administration did not want to upset the intricate relationship which BIA has built up with grazing, timber, mining interests in the West, on the one hand, and its Indian associates on the reservations whom young Indian reformers call derisively "Uncle Tomahawks." Moreover, many Indian chiefs, fearing that change could place them at a greater disadvantage and perhaps activate the semi-dormant federal termination of the reservation policy approved by congressional resolution in 1953, cling to the Bureau as the best bulwark against change. They could not be more accurate in this estimate of the Bureau's molecular inertia as well as the omnipresent pressure from several congressmen for renewing the termination policy whereby reservations would be dissolved. Completed terminations on the Klamath reservation in Oregon and Menominee in Wisconsin have had terribly adverse effects on Indians and their local economies. Without a land base, Indians will soon cease as distinct cultures.

Until the recent hearings by Sen. George McGovern of the Senate subcommittee on Indian affairs, there have been no meaningful hearings on Indian poverty. There is no indication, however, that the Bureau will be subjected to a probing congressional oversight hearing. Criticism directed at the Bureau has been for *not* terminating reservations fast enough. James Gamble of the Senate subcommittee staff, with the apparent knowledge of Senators Henry Jackson (D, Wash.) and Clinton Anderson (D, N.M.) has long been the chief congressional worker for termination of Indian reservations and assimilation of the Indian into the mainstream of American life. The intensity of his animosity toward what he considers the privileged position of Indians and the BIA, which he says has a vested interest in this position, is almost startling. Not until 1967 did the Indian affairs subcommittee in the Senate and House lose their total grip on matters Indian. Both Senators Robert Kennedy and, to a lesser extent, Abraham Ribicoff (D, Conn.) held hearings during the past year on Indian urban ghettoes and Indian education. Such a trend may lead to a fresh approach toward understanding at least the dimensions of the Indian problem and the priorities in policy-making.

For example, Professor Gary Orfield of the University of Virginia believes the key focus should be in providing the Indians with jobs. Employment, he believes, would radiate the kinds of self-confidence and options that offer freedom of choice and break the vicious circle of poverty. "Even allowing for the rapid population growth, it is obvious that the basic economic problem of the Indian communities could be solved by the provision of 40,000 jobs. This would seem a small demand for a nation where civilian employment has increased an average of 723,000 each year from 1955 to 1965, and where the last five years the average increase has been almost 1.5 million per year." Analysis after analysis of the reservations' economic potential points to what has to be done to achieve this relatively modest objective. Provision of adequate loan funds to finance tribal enterprises and incentives to attract industry are often recommended. Conservation projects, recreational site developments, public housing construction and other community improvement projects can be more immediately implemented. There is solid precedent for success in job creation in the Indian Emergency Conservation Work program during the thirties. Some 15,000 men were put to work in a few months time.

RALPH NADER

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McCarthy

Wisconsin's Response To an Honorable Man

by Paul R. Wieck

St. Norbert's College

Just three hours after Sen. Robert F. Kennedy made official his alarm over the New Hampshire returns by announcing his own candidacy, Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy walked into the auditorium of this small Catholic college in the heart of Wisconsin's Fox River country. Outside, it was balmy. Inside, Senator McCarthy would test the political temperature at his first appearance since the Kennedy announcement. He received a quick reading when the 700 or 800 students rose, almost as one, to give him a standing ovation. He got another a few minutes later when they laughed and applauded a priest who told them that, only 10 days ago, few believed Senator McCarthy's campaign would get airborne. It had, however, and the priest then quipped that "as of a few hours ago, a stowaway was discovered. His name is Bobby-come-lately."

Senator McCarthy, looking over his audience a few minutes later, said: "Thank you. I needed your encouragement at this time."

In a day and a half in the Fox River country, a heavily Catholic and conservative area that launched another McCarthy on his career more than two decades ago, Gene McCarthy found out something more. The timing of Kennedy's announcement had served to sharpen McCarthy's image, to give it a Stevensonian cast. Everywhere, his supporters hailed him as a man of honor, courage and integrity. A young professor, in introducing him, said: "In his sincerity, we have an image of an honest politician." Later, contrasting this, a student said of Kennedy: "He represents the same kind of playing politics we're fighting in President Johnson."

If the dozens of students and adults I talked with after McCarthy's four appearances are typical of what is happening among his supporters around the country, it would appear that a large segment of the student activists as well as of the upper-middle-class "liberals," particularly in the academic community, has found a new hero in the Minnesotan senator, a man of sophisticated wit who does not shout at them, exude emotionalism or lose his cool. Their children, many now in college, are getting a glimpse of what thrilled their parents in the fifties.

To this Stevensonian cast, Senator McCarthy has added something more – a touch of political toughness, which he exhibited without faltering in every public appearance over the weekend of Kennedy's announcement. It was what his supporters needed.

That the 1952 Stevenson image has appeal in 1968 is not surprising. There are many similarities between the political climates of the two years, particularly the widespread voter disenchantment with "politicians" *per se*. In 1952, it resulted in a wide public demand for Gen. Dwight Eisenhower, the "father image," and an upper-middle-class "liberal" infatuation with Adali Stevenson, the "honorable man."

President Johnson's own supporters, unworried before the New Hampshire returns, have been shocked out of their pre-convention lethargy and are scrambling to get back on their feet. Before the week was out, two men – Neal Staebler of Michigan and Bob Burkhardt of New Jersey – had been dispatched to Wisconsin to take over the LBJ campaign.

If Senator McCarthy wins big (55 to 60 percent) in Wisconsin, it will be with Republican votes. Wisconsin not only allows crossovers, but it allows them with the minimum of inconvenience. Each voter is given two ballots, one to mark and the other to throw away. No one ever knows which the individual voter chooses to throw away.

Two reasons can be cited for heavy GOP crossovers.

First, Gov. George Romney's supporters no longer have a "peace candidate" to support in their own primary unless they want to waste a vote on Harold Stassen or a write-in. Wisconsin voters, in the past, haven't been inclined to waste votes. Some estimate McCarthy will pick up 50,000 votes from ex-Romney supporters alone. Arnold Serwer, associate editor of *Progressive* magazine and a top campaign aide, said that, following the Romney pullout 10 days before New Hampshire, McCarthy backers raised their estimate of McCarthy's share of the vote to 40 percent and three to five of the 10 congressional districts.

Then, Senator Kennedy, by the timing of his announcement, made McCarthy the sentimental favorite of millions of Republicans, ex-Stevensonians now in the LBJ camp and just plain people. An excellent example is this report from one McCarthy leader in Wisconsin: A goodly number of his friends, all of them Taft-type conservatives in the upper-income brackets, have come to him to explain that Senator McCarthy is "an honest man" like their own Bob Taft was, and that they've decided to vote for him in the primary.

If the crossover is too heavy, it could embarrass the GOP contender, Richard Nixon.

The tenuous nature of a commitment by a Repub-

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lican to a Democratic candidate, combined with the arguments that will be brought to bear by the Nixon forces, is a good reason not to bring Kennedy into the state, since he'd probably drive a good many of them back to their party.

It is Senator McCarthy's desire to win, however, and to win decisively, on his own, that dictated the decision not to invite Kennedy to campaign for him here (the widespread resentment of Kennedy among McCarthy workers might have made it inadvisable in any case).

But the GOP votes are a bonus. The real battle is still within Democratic ranks, particularly in the industrial wards that provided John F. Kennedy with his winning margin in the 1960 primary but will be tough to crack this year. The big problem is Milwaukee. One-third of the state's vote is in this metropolitan area, and McCarthy will have only two weeks to try to make an impact on the huge, heavily Polish working-class vote that dominates Milwaukee's south side and is inclined to be racist in outlook this year. Their congressman, Rep. Clem Zablocki, is heading LBJ's campaign in the state.

Unfortunately, this vote is expected to turn out en masse on April 2 to back Mayor Henry Maier in his bid for reelection (it did in the primary) and, more important, his long fight with Father Groppi and the commandoes. This is an unexpected "plus" for the LBJ forces, who aren't well enough organized at this juncture (there was virtually no sign of LBJ activity in Wisconsin before the New Hampshire primary) to turn it out either without strong support from organized labor or an emotional issue such as Mayor Maier's bid for reelection against Dave Walther, a young "liberal" attorney who is backing Senator McCarthy (Father Groppi and his commandoes attended a McCarthy rally, have said, privately, that he's "a good guy" who'll get their votes but don't plan to campaign for him).

Wisconsin offers a completely different set of problems for the McCarthy camp, as contrasted to New Hampshire. Time, size and organization are the keys. Obviously, McCarthy won't have as much time (he had six weeks in New Hampshire) in Wisconsin but the momentum already built up will offset a good part of this. The size of the state, however, will stretch the capacities of his fledgling national staff to the limit, at a time when he needs to spread them even thinner by sending some into convention states such as Iowa and other primary states such as Indiana, Nebraska and Pennsylvania to combat both the Kennedy and Johnson efforts.

There are pluses and minuses in the organization field. Unlike New Hampshire, which is in the Eastern tradition of tight political organization, Wisconsin has a heritage of political independence. Eugene McCarthy's organization has been growing rapidly for months but on an autonomous basis. A way must now be found of coordinating the 4,000 to 5,000 in-state volunteers working out of 20 headquarters around the state with the senator's own campaigning.

One thing he won't lack for is volunteers. The weekend after New Hampshire, for instance, over 1,000 students from Illinois wanted to go to Wisconsin to campaign. They were asked not to come because the McCarthy forces weren't prepared to use them effectively, in part because of the outpouring of volunteers from within the state. Added thousands from Michigan and Minnesota and other states are ready to come in for the last two weekends.

If Senator McCarthy has trouble because he has too many volunteers, the Johnson forces have even worse trouble and of a different kind.

Senator Kennedy's announcement increased the flow of money (one check for $5,000 in Wisconsin) and volunteers into the McCarthy camp. But, in Wisconsin as in other states, it had the opposite effect on the LBJ camp. Everywhere, Kennedy supporters who feared they had too much to lose if they joined the McCarthy camp or were personally loyal only to RFK, seized the opportunity to jump off the LBJ bandwagon (some, like Pat Lucey, remained neutral until Kennedy announced) and go to work for Kennedy.

In Wisconsin, the LBJ organization appears to be shot through with party people really loyal to Kennedy, from the top right on down. How the LBJ managers will deal with this remains to be seen.

Predictions on the size of the vote are running as high as 600,000 (it was 850,000 in the torrid Kennedy-Humphrey battle in 1960, when droves of Republicans crossed over to vote for both candidates) and, if Senator McCarthy can garner between 55 and 60 percent of this vote, his own campaign will gather further momentum as he heads for Indiana, Nebraska, Oregon and California. He needs a good majority and

COMING: *This summer in Chicago — a preview of the plans of police and protesters*

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the bulk of the 59-member delegation from Wisconsin.

Beyond Wisconsin, a new pattern is developing in the wake of Senator Kennedy's announcement. It is almost as if the Stevenson-Kennedy struggle that never really happened in 1960 is finally to come about with different principals and new issues. Prior to Kennedy's announcement, it appeared that the combination of the "peace issue," President Johnson's personal unpopularity and McCarthy's infectious, personal style of campaigning (he gains the undying loyalty of most who work closely with him) would give the reform elements in the Democratic Party in such states as Illinois, Connecticut, New York and Massachusetts, to name a few, an unequalled opportunity to clean house within the party. The party organization was a shell in many areas. The regulars were stuck with an unpopular President.

Now, with the entrance of Kennedy and his immediate courting of party regulars, from Mayor Daley of Chicago to Stanley Steingut in Brooklyn and Jesse Unruh in California, a good part of this grass-roots movement could be aborted.

For instance, within hours there were reports of regulars in Connecticut switching to Kennedy to escape being purged in caucuses by the McCarthy forces, who were using his candidacy as part of a widespread reform movement.

Senator Kennedy's trip to Kansas, where he was greeted by frenzied crowds, plus the widespread defections from LBJ within the party organization, indicate that the pattern of 1960 will repeat itself in many states – a regular, machine-oriented party organization being bolstered by a popular candidate. It could, for instance, bring Unruh to power in California, where the California Democratic Council is backing Senator McCarthy. However, in other states (notably Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, etc.), Kennedy's entrance could mean a near shut-out of LBJ supporters from the delegation with little impact on reform movements.

If the bulk of the bosses (Mayor Daley, Mayor James Tate of Philadelphia, John Bailey in Connecticut) choose to stick with LBJ and he continues to receive strong backing from most of organized labor and the mid-South, Southwest and Rocky Mountain states, the Kennedy-McCarthy split could, in the end, wreck the "dump Johnson" movement.

But, today, Wisconsin is all-important for McCarthy. He must come out of this primary with a decisive win. He must find ways of getting larger sums of money (his supporters are still trying to raise the money needed in Wisconsin at a time when he ought to have $500,000 to $1 million to plunk down for TV time in Oregon and California before his competitors buy up all the prime time), to increase his staff and add a measure of professionalism above and beyond his current program of "on the job" training.

. . . and in Madison

Spring has come early to southern Wisconsin, and it has lifted the hopes of a determined band of anti-Vietnam war crusaders who believe they are on the verge of making Madison the first city in the nation to approve a strongly worded anti-war referendum. The fate of the referendum will be decided on April 2 in the same election in which voters ballot on their choice in the presidential preferential primary.

The referendum was placed on the ballot by a reluctant city council, after the band of volunteers spread out all over this city of 180,000, and collected 8,000 signatures on petitions forcing the council to put this question to the voters:

"It is the policy of the city of Madison that there be an immediate ceasefire and the withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam, so that the Vietnamese people can determine their own destiny."

But to show that they didn't like the idea of a war ballot, even though city ordinances required they submit, the council promptly voted 20-0 to urge a "no" vote.

The voters may disregard that advice, however, for Madison has been the center of anti-war sentiment since the days of the late Sen. Robert M. La Follette. It is the home of the University of Wisconsin with 33,000 students. It was Adlai Stevenson country in the early 50's. It was Hubert Humphrey country before he became vice president. Now it is McCarthy country. Although students and faculty members are sparking the drive, it is by no means confined to the campus community. A leaflet urging a "yes" vote has a wide range of sponsors, including a prominent banker, a rabbi, a Catholic monsignor and a teamsters union official.

There has been a concerted drive to register students to vote, and the city clerk's office said that the largest number of new voters has been registered in two wards with heavy student population.

The referendum has the solid backing of the city's well-known, liberal afternoon daily, the *Capital Times*.

"The response to our work has been absolutely great," said Mrs. Mary Ann Rice, 32-year-old mother of five and executive secretary of the Citizens Committee for a Vote on Vietnam. The committee had 275 workers in all of the city's wards collecting the signatures to put the issue before the voters. "So many of our supporters were encouraged by the vote for Senator McCarthy in New Hampshire . . . it's fantastic the way people contact us and ask how they can help," Mrs. Rice says. From its store-front headquarters a block off Capital Square, the Anti-War Committee sends out leaflets, bumper stickers and buttons. They have received queries from several other

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cities asking for details on how to set up similar groups. The war is felt keenly here. Thousands of graduate students are now eligible for the draft, and hardly a day goes by that a casket from Vietnam is not unloaded at a Wisconsin airport.

There is opposition to the referendum, principally from veterans' groups, but they do not have as much political power in Madison as elsewhere. Anthony J. Caserta of Alliance, Ohio, national commander of the AMVETS, came to Madison recently to denounce the referendum. He said the "good people" of Madison are being infiltrated by a "bunch of communists and dirty-faced kids." Informed that several prominent Madisonians are urging a "yes" vote on the war question, Caserta said "they obviously haven't given it deep thought. They probably have been touched by the war personally and have been misled by these communist infiltrators." If Madison adopts the anti-war referendum "old Joe McCarthy will turn over in his grave," Caserta added. Perhaps. But the late Senator McCarthy wasn't very popular in Madison.

John Patrick Hunter

The City Is Its Main Hope

What Chance for Black Power?

by Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward

If there is a lesson in America's pluralistic history, it is that the ability of an outcaste minority to advance in the face of majority prejudices partly depends on its ability to develop countervailing power. It is extraordinary that so conventional an idea has evoked so bitter a controversy in the civil rights community. For, stripped of rhetoric, the idea of "black power" merely emphasizes the need to augment Negro influence by developing separatist institutions, ranging from economic enterprise to political organization.

Older civil rights organizations take umbrage at the separatist impulse because it appears to repudiate the principle of integration. Considering that ethnic labor unions, ethnic political machines and other ethnic institutions have been essential to the rise of various minorities, it is puzzling to hear it said that Negroes must restrain themselves from following the same course. Indeed, those institutions in the black community which are "integrated" – whether political organizations, the rackets, or social welfare agencies – actually contribute to black impotence, for they are integrated only in the sense that they are dominated by whites and serve white interests.

Those who are dismayed by the separatist position also fear that it will alienate liberal and labor allies. Blacks are a minority, to be sure, and cannot go it alone. But neither will they ever be more than a nominal participant in coalitions unless they are better organized; rather, their leaders will serve mostly to legitimize programs from which others benefit. An organized group need not sit about debating the pros and cons of seeking allies; it will be sought out by others, and offered genuine concessions because it has strength to bring to any alliance. Those who now urge color-blind coalition are unable to show why the black poor would have more effective leverage in future alliances than they have had in the past.

Before damning black power for its principles or dooming it for its strategy, one should look at what the Negro has so far achieved without power, and what the future holds if his powerlessness persists.

The upheavals which are sometimes called "the

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Negro revolution" – the civil rights protests, the spreading violence in the cities, and the controversy over black power – are reflections of economic changes. When old patterns are rapidly undermined, dislocating masses of people, disorder often follows.

No group has been more acutely affected by technological change than the Negro, although the middle class and the poor have been affected quite differently. Educated Negroes are in demand in professional, scientific, and technical occupations because of the growing need for skilled manpower. Since the end of World War II, the proportion of Negro families earning between $5,000 and $7,000 (in 1965 dollars adjusted for price changes) almost trebled and now approximates the proportion of whites in that income class. The proportion earning between $7,000 and $10,000 did treble and is now about two-thirds of the proportion of whites in that income group.

It was this rising class that launched the civil rights movement, especially the young of a newly arriving Southern bourgeoisie. As is often the case, ascending economic fortunes had themselves generated expectations which outpaced the actual rate of advance. Thus Negro colleges, once training grounds for a segregated elite, suddenly disgorged cadres to lead boycotts, freedom rides and sit-ins. Nor was this economic discrepancy the only source of discontent. A segregated society also deprived them of the symbols of prestige which normally accompany higher economic status. Spurred by these status discrepancies, the movement focused much of its energy on desegregating lunch counters and public accommodations.

Much of what was aspired to has been achieved – the legal and symbolic representations that American institutions were made "for whites only" are crumbling. That these features of our social life are collapsing so quickly (as these things go) is a mark of the extent to which they had become outmoded as a result of economic changes.

For the mass of black poor, however, the technological revolution has had less happy consequences. Although the proportion of poor families has dropped considerably in the past two decades, more than half of the black families in America still have incomes of less than $5,000, and one in four subsists on less than $3,000. Furthermore, apparent increases in income are often offset by the forced migration to the cities, where it costs more to live. Most ominous, the technological advances which made old patterns of segregation obsolete are also making a substantial segment of the black poor obsolete. Southern Negro sharecroppers, driven off the land by machines, can now eat at a desegregated lunch counter, take a desegregated interstate bus North, and arrive in a city with a fair employment ordinance – but no jobs. The mechanization of the farms they left is matched in the cities by the automation and decentralization of industry. Wherever black people are concentrated, North or South, true rates of unemployment (both those looking for work and those who have given up) range from 20 to 50 percent.

In the rural South, the more fortunate among the unemployed barely subsist on federal surplus commodities; the less fortunate starve. If they could get on the welfare rolls, people would have a bit of money, but they are kept off by a tangle of exclusionary laws, bureaucratic obstacles, and just plain illegal rejections. Feared at the polls and no longer needed in the fields, they are told to go North. As it happens, the women and children are more likely to get on the welfare rolls in the North, provided that their men "desert" them first. And so unemployed husbands and fathers stand about "in hiding" on every ghetto street-corner. Meanwhile welfare administrators and politicians curry public favor by promoting job training for welfare mothers – but not for their men. At that, the women are trained for jobs that don't exist, or won't for long. The work they do get is in low-paid, dead-end jobs: in 1966, Negroes composed 42 percent of the private household work force and 25 percent of nonfarm laborers. Poor blacks, in brief, are being shut out of the economic system. They have progressed from slave labor to cheap labor to no labor at all.

The violence in the cities is the response of the black poor to their new social and economic condition, just as the civil rights protests were the response of the black middle class to their changing condition. It is not that poverty or unemployment produces mass discontent and violence, for if this were so no society could be stable. Rather, massive economic *displacement* may have a reverberative effect on other institutions, weakening their capacity to regulate sentiments and behavior, and culminating finally in violence.

The most obvious reverberation is the shift of populations from rural to urban areas. Blacks have become an urban people in just two or three decades, and this has set them loose from existing structures of social control. Although a repressive, feudalistic system persists in the South, a great many Negroes have been liberated from it just by no longer being there. Nor have they been absorbed by the main regulatory institutions of the city, especially the economic system. Ghetto institutions, such as churches and political machines, have also not incorporated them. Furthermore, the press of numbers is disrupting traditional accommodations upon which racial peace depends: the boundaries of previously sacrosanct white neighborhoods and schools are being breached, and white political power in city halls is threatened. When tensions rise as institutional controls weaken, the eruption of

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violence should not be surprising.

The splintering off of a segment of the civil rights movement – symbolized by the raised black fist and the cry of "black power" – is also a response to these upheavals. New conditions of life, by altering mass attitudes, undercut old patterns of leadership. Traditional Negro elites who have maintained their hegemony by serving as the agents of white power and resources are being challenged by new aspirants to leadership whose insistent nationalism reflects the current mood of discontent. And whatever else may be said of its rhetoric – the language of violence and the allusions to revolution – black power, by calling on people to be, feel, think and act black, is fostering a new sense of community in the ghetto, especially among the young.. This is a hopeful trend, for solidarity is one prerequisite to the political power without which the mass of black poor cannot advance economically.

There is no doubt that major governmental action will be taken to deal with disruptions in the cities. Corporation executives and mayors, union officials and presidential aspirants – men whose interests are in one way or another threatened by urban disorder – are agreed in demanding federal programs to stem rising municipal costs, "crime in the streets" and riots. But while this "urban coalition" wants to ease urban trouble, the groups it includes have interests quite at odds with those of the black poor. And experience shows that the poor have good reason to be apprehensive about programs formed in their name by the powerful.

To appreciate the grounds for apprehension, look at the differences between government programs for the organized and unorganized poor. In response to the crisis in the thirties, the federal government proclaimed its responsibility for the poor but promulgated legislation favoring those of the urban poor who, already partly organized in unions and political machines, were important to the newly formed Democratic coalition. Political leaders pressed through a series of social welfare measures designed to protect the urban worker – unemployment compensation, old age and survivors insurance, and housing subsidies for those with moderate incomes. More important, workers got concessions that nourished their organizations, especially the Wagner Act, which gave them the right to bargain collectively and thus made the growth and stabilization of unions possible – membership expanded from three million in 1930 to 14 million in 1945. In this way, the working classes were able to make gains in the economic system, and to guard governmental programs designed for them.

The poor who lacked political power were left behind. The worst poverty still exists among those who did not win collective bargaining rights by legislation, such as agricultural laborers. In the cities, the still unorganized black masses continue to be victimized by programs ostensibly intended for their benefit. Consider, for example, the public welfare programs enacted in 1935 which promised decent subsistence for everyone; three decades later, the average family of four on ADC (Aid to Dependent Children) gets only $1,800 a year. The Public Housing Act of 1937 proclaimed the goal of providing decent housing for the poor; today there are about 10 million substandard dwelling units in the country, for only 600,000 units of public housing have been constructed. Our national policy of full employment, enunciated by legislation in 1946, has proved to be meaningless rhetoric.

Worse yet, manifestly egalitarian measures have been turned against the poor. Federal agricultural subsidies, established to aid all farmers, actually helped to bankrupt small ones and enrich large ones. The Housing Act of 1949 asserted the right of every American to "a decent and standard dwelling unit," but initiated the Urban Renewal Program that destroyed 350,000 low-rental housing units in the course of reclaiming slum neighborhoods for commercial facilities and better-off residents. Several hundred thousand more low-rental homes were demolished during the same period by public works and federal highway construction – programs also put forward under the banner of improving the urban environment. Indeed, these programs "for the community as a whole" have succeeded in destroying more low-rental units than government has constructed since the Public Housing Act was passed.

Finally, what concessions the unorganized poor did get actually inhibited their capacity for political action. This is especially true of public welfare and public housing programs in which benefits are made conditional on compliant behavior by recipients. The poor, dealt with as supplicants by functionaries who can evict them or cut off their checks at will, are rendered more helpless in exchange for the benefits they receive.

New proclamations about action to help the poor are now being made, and new programs discussed. But what reason is there to suppose that these measures will not also be tokenistic, or turned to serve the interests of other groups, or designed to intimidate the recipients still more? For the simple truth is that governmental action has not worked for the unorganized poor and is not likely to work for them in the future unless they become a political force in initiating and shaping it.

If the history of past programs is not fully convincing, consider the major proposal now being advanced to ease violence in the cities – namely, that public subsidies be used to spur investments by national corporations in ghetto housing and employment. This plan is being promoted by alliances of corporation executives and political leaders, with representatives of organized

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labor and civil rights bringing up the flank.

The corporate interest in these proposals reflects more than a response to the promise of subsidized profit-making. Violence in the cities results in the wholesale destruction of property. And the spreading disorder, threatening to pit racial groups against each other in armed conflict, undermines the civic stability on which large-scale enterprise depends.

Moreover, corporate enterprise can now take a benevolent stance toward blacks because it no longer has a major stake in domestic racism. At an earlier stage of production, racism helped to depress the cost of labor by ensuring a supply of cheap black workers as well as a supply of scabs to inhibit union organizing among whites. But labor costs are now a less important factor in profits, and union organization has turned out to be an advantage in stabilizing and regulating the work force. Racism is no longer an economic asset; by threatening social stability, it has become a liability.

Corporate investments will result in quick improvements in the ghetto. But what pressure will there be for continuing and expanding investments once order is restored? Other markets are more profitable, and national political leaders can derive greater political advantage by turning subsidies to larger or more influential groups – such as suburbanites. Furthermore, if national corporations absorb the subsidies for programs ranging from manpower training to redevelopment, no black enterprise will emerge. The ghetto will merely become a subsidized market to be exploited by white enterprise; once again, it will be weakened by a coalition acting in its name. There is, in short, good reason for poor blacks to beware of corporate representatives bearing tax-deductible gifts.

How, then, are the black poor to develop greater political influence? Some observers point to the fact that the growing concentration of blacks in the central cities is making them a substantial electoral force. Earlier groups of the poor, it is noted, exploited the resources and powers of municipal government to aid their rise in the economic order; why not blacks as well? The parallel is far from exact, as we shall show. For the moment, however, let us assume that the black community is not weaker than earlier ethnic communities, and that city government is as important in the federal system as it once was.

First, as majorities in the cities, or even as large voting blocs, blacks would have the means to prevent the recurrent incursions on the ghetto by urban renewal, highway construction, and public works programs. At the same time, funds now being spent on others could be directed to improving ghetto services and facilities. Municipal power might also be used to force private enterprise and unions to admit Negroes. Public officials have numerous sources of leverage: they fix budget allocations for services and projects, approve private construction plans, and decide whether to pass on requests for state and federal grants. Each of these decisions is an occasion to exact concessions from other groups. Employers who want city contracts can be induced to hire and promote blacks. Similarly, unions can be opened to Negroes by blocking approvals for new construction or by threatening to reform archaic building codes on which their jobs partly depend.

These powers also offer a way for blacks to gain access to the more desirable neighborhoods now occupied by the white working and middle classes. Black government can override resistance to public housing in white areas and enforce bans on discrimination in the rental and sale of housing. Where public officials are elected on a precinct basis, the spread of blacks would entrench their political control by assuring majorities in each district.

Acquiring access to white institutions is one way to advance; developing black institutional relationships to the society is another and more important way. Separatist institutional development will not take place quickly, but in the long run its effects could be profound, for nothing about the Negro community is more conspicuous than the absence of its own institutions. In part, this condition is a heritage of slavery and of laws passed in the wake of Reconstruction which prohibited free assembly and the formation of associations among Negroes. The traditional isolation of most blacks in rural and feudalistic settings has also inhibited the formation of institutions, especially of a kind that would be viable in the city.

The need for communal institutions is one of the major themes of black power advocates. And municipal control could be the key. Where else is the money to come from to foster such a development? The black poor are very poor, indeed, and they confront an economy dominated by large-scale corporations, in which the would-be entrepreneur has far less likelihood of success than in the more open economy of the past. Nor can much be expected of efforts to unionize blacks, for many of them, if they work at all, are in occupations too marginal and dispersed to be organized effectively (*e.g.*, domestic service). Moreover, the black middle classes will not lead a separatist development; they have been absorbed into white institutions and cannot be enticed back unless substantial occupational rewards are available. To overcome these obstacles, blacks need the resources controlled by municipal officials – contracts for all manner of projects and services to nurture new enterprises, as well as the leverage over white economic interests to induce them to deal with black enterprises. In these ways urban power might in time enable the black community to develop the infra-

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structure which has served other groups so well, especially black economic enterprise and black labor unions to organize the workers in the resulting jobs.

Finally, greater black influence in national politics depends on strong local organization capable of promoting electoral participation and assuring discipline. To build organization, black leaders need the platform of municipal office to articulate black interests and the resources of public office to reward their followers. For all these reasons, many now see the city as the hope for the Negro.

But the prospects for black urban power, as we have just defined them, rest on the erroneous assumption that American politics are formed by voting numbers alone. The conventions of electoral politics are regularly subverted in many ways. Those already holding power will not yield the spoils of office quickly or easily to new majorities. Even when official representation is achieved, responsiveness by government requires a constituency capable of watching over and pressuring officials. To be sure, blacks will assume nominal power in the cities because of the sheer weight of their numbers; but compared to earlier groups, blacks have few organizational ropes to keep rein on their leaders. Black officials will find themselves confronted by a variety of well-organized white groups – such as unions of public employees – who have the power to obstruct the business of government. They will be pressed to defer to these white interests, and an unorganized black constituency will give them the slack to do it. Although it may be too soon to draw conclusions, the first statements and appointments of Cleveland's newly elected black mayor suggest just such conciliation of whites.

Moreover, local government has been greatly weakened since the heyday of the ethnic urban machine. Localities now collect a mere seven percent of tax revenues, while the federal government collects two-thirds. This fiscal weakness underlies the great vulnerability of local government to national centralized power, reflected both in the schemes for intervention by national corporations discussed earlier, and in new encroachments by the federal government under the guise of metropolitan planning.

The national government is using its multitude of existing programs for localities to form a new system of metropolitan-wide bureaucracies. This new level of government will impose federal policies on localities in the course of channeling grants-in-aid to them.

The need for metro administration is commonly justified on the ground that the concentration of people in sprawling urban areas has produced a host of problems – transportation, water supply, pollution control – which transcend narrow municipal boundaries. The solution of these problems is said to require programs planned and implemented on a metropolitan basis. For some problems, perhaps so; however, many urban problems remain unsolved, not for lack of area-wide planning, but for lack of political will. That communities do not apply for federal funds to build public housing needs no explanation beyond local reluctance to house the poor and black. Nevertheless, metro bureaucracies are emerging, and they will supersede the cities just as blacks come to power.

Whose interests will the federal metro agencies reflect? It takes no special acumen to see the answer. Their policies will be formed in deference to the inner-city and suburban whites who are an overwhelming majority in the metro region. Thus programs for the inner city will be designed to protect and ease the ethnic working classes, the residual middle class, and corporate groups with heavy property investments in the core. And there will be suburban services and facilities to meet the needs of decentralizing industry and white residents, whose electoral power now exceeds that of inner-city populations. Judging from the past, programs for blacks will be designed to treat their presumed deficiences – to engender "good work habits and incentives," strengthen family life, improve mental health.

If the black middle class has so far benefited from technological change, it will prosper even more from the corporate-metro solutions to the urban crisis. To smooth the path of intervention, the black middle class will be absorbed into white corporate and metropolitan agencies. It should not be surprising, therefore, that these new approaches are already being hailed by Negro elites. The rationale given is that they will further integration – metropolitanism is said to be the way to breach the wall between ghetto and suburb in housing and education, and corporate programs the way to promote economic integration. But as metropolitan administrations take control, they are not likely to promote the dispersal of blacks to white neighborhoods in the face of resistance by an area-wide majority; meanwhile, white corporate control will be extended to the ghetto. Thus these new systems will enable whites, even as the ideal of integration is invoked, to maintain political and economic hegemony over the black masses.

The black poor, then, have few prospects for political or economic advancement. Because of the current disruptions, they will get a few concessions to restore tranquillity. But once the cities are tranquillized, what then? As we have said, the main chance for black power is in the cities, but the odds are lengthening. If there is a question to be debated, it is not whether the idea of black power is desirable; it is whether the power of this idea can prevail in the face of the continuing centralization of corporate and federal power over the city.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Mod Goes Limp

Britain needs to sell exports for hard currency, but lately she has been sending us soft pictures. I have seen three and a half of them in a row – or what seems a row. The half was of *Smashing Time*, a color comedy in which Lynn Redgrave and Rita Tushingham come up from the provinces in mod clothes to mod London to have a mod time. I walked out soon after a fracas in a restaurant in which everyone smears everyone else with mod ketchup and mod mustard.

Here We Go Round the Mulberry Bush
(Lopert)
Up the Junction
(Paramount)
"30 Is a Dangerous Age, Cynthia!"
(Columbia)

I saw all of Clive Donner's latest film, *Here We Go Round the Mulberry Bush*; nevertheless, a day later I could hardly remember what it was about. I knew, of course, that the titles were in "psychedelic" style and there were lots of miniskirts, but otherwise, all I could remember was a girl named Judy Geeson – another attempt to duplicate Julie Christie – who went swimming in the nude and had nice breasts. This happened near the close of the picture; virtually everything before that had become a blank. Then I read the synopsis provided by the distributor and was reminded that it was about a 17-year-old boy virgin and his various attempts to change his status. I was also reminded of a funny bit by Denholm Elliott as the bibulous father of one of the girls, of several by-now stock daydream episodes, and of being numbly bored. Donner, the director of *What's New, Pussy Cat?*, here shows the avidity for youthfulness that used to be a sign of approaching middle age but is now just a business trend.

Then came Suzy Kendall. I missed *The Penthouse* and *To Sir, With Love*, in which Miss Kendall made her first American appearances, but my luck did not hold. I have now seen two of her pictures. It is ungallant but necessary to report that she is the least attractive girl to be pushed for stardom in some time – a hard face with a short upper lip, predatory teeth, and a forbidding nose. Her personality is damp. As for acting ability, sometimes she smiles and sometimes she does not smile. She can also cry.

One Kendall film was *Up the Junction*, based on a book by Nell Dunn, who was responsible for the recent *Poor Cow*. The story apparently has some biographical basis. Miss Dunn left her well-to-do family to live in Battersea, a working-class district of London, to work in a candy factory and join in a society where the ideal of fun is to get on motorbikes and go "up the junction" – that is, up to Clapham Junction, an entertainment center. The picture makes a few feebly grim attempts to document present-day working-class conditions and the "mod"-ernized pleasures of working-class youth. Some of the Cockney backchat is funny, as is the street backchat of any big city. But the plot is pure MGM romance of the '30s – rich girl and poor boy – without even the satisfaction of an old-fashioned MGM conclusion. The rich girl (Miss Kendall) insists on living "poor." When her boy friend asks her to marry him and live on her money, not their salaries, she says, "Money destroys you. It makes you false and useless." Instead of slamming her, which seemed to me the decent response, he jumps in his car, speeds, and is arrested for having stolen the car (to take her away for a weekend). At the end, we do not know whether she will wait the six months of his jail term or whether he will want her then. I hope he moves on to a genuinely poor – or genuinely rich – girl. Peter Collinson's direction is without the chic artiness of Kenneth Loach's work in *Poor Cow* – in fact, it is pretty much without anything. The cast in general is up to Miss Kendall's level.

She also appears in *"30 Is a Dangerous Age, Cynthia!"* but mercifully in a somewhat smaller part. Dudley Moore is the star. He was in *Bedazzled*, of which he was co-author; here he is again co-author, composer of the score, and conductor. Past question, Moore is a funny man. The puzzle of this film is how he could have written for himself so many lame lines and situations and could have been so unusually unaware of *not* being funny. The essence of Moore's comedy, in *Beyond the Fringe* and *Bedazzled*, was intelligence: not involvement, like many comedians, but superior satirical comment on stupidity and foible. Here he plunges into baggy-pants show biz, trying *everything* to make us laugh. He has lost his aloofness from show biz and has thereby diluted his quality.

Moore plays a pianist in a night club who is determined to be married by his thirtieth birthday, to a girl he has not yet found, and to finish writing a musical by that date. It doesn't even *sound* funny – and it gets worse. The dream flashes of Moore imagining himself Beethoven or Bach or Mozart have absolutely no comic point; the bashful encounters with the girl (Miss Kendall) are shockingly trite. And – worst of all the clichés – when he goes to the opening of his musical (he has been away chasing the girl), he is horrified to discover that it has been drastically changed, but of course it is a smash hit, anyway. For no reason we can discern.

There is also stale private-eye satire and some of the corniest "wipes" in film-editing since prewar Phil Harris musicals. (Blade-shaped holes appear on the screen at the end of a scene, then whirl like a pinwheel for a moment until the next scene appears.) Part of the strain throughout may be due to a subconscious realization that Moore lacks the scope to be the sole star of a picture. The less of Moore the merrier.

All three and a half of these British pictures are laden with mod apparatus. For six or eight years after the first Osborne plays were filmed, Britain

(Continued on page 37)

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Books and the Arts

Dividing the World

by Michael Harrington

The Cold War may not have quite ended (that it does continue is one more tragic consequence of the hideous war in Vietnam) but its history is already being revised.

On the whole, this is most welcome. There are, to be sure, some who merely substitute new stereotypes for the old – those New Left youth, for instance, who are as fervently convinced that the world's evils derive from anti-communism as some of their elders were that they all came from communism. But there are also scholarly works which debunk the Stalin-Dulles vision of a globe divided into two irreconcilable camps. And, there is a new realization that the postwar struggle between Russia and the United States was a historical product, not a theological fate and that, therefore, different choices might have been made in the past and new departures are possible in the present. This consciousness is, of course, related to the détente which has taken place between the leading antagonists in recent years and particularly since October, 1962, when they decided it didn't make sense to blow up the earth.

History of the Cold War: From the October Revolution to the Korean War, 1917-1950
by André Fontaine
translated by D. A. Paige
(Pantheon; $10)

André Fontaine, the Foreign Editor of *Le Monde*, sees his book (it is the first of two volume work), *Histoire de la Guerre Froide*, as part of this revisionist effort. And yet, as that school is defined in American intellectual life today, I don't think the label applies. At no point does Fontaine argue the central thesis of the American revisionists: that the basic responsibility for the Cold War must be assigned to the United States. He takes a fatalistic view of the Big Three dispute over Eastern Europe at the end of World War II, arguing that there was really no way of preventing Stalin from obtaining buffer states on his border. And he also believes that, without the American monopoly of the Bomb right after the War, "it is hard to imagine how the countries of Western Europe could have escaped communist contagion. . . ."

The value of this *History of the Cold War* is that it is not a factional, polemical work. It is a sober narrative of well-known facts with unobtrusive and interesting interpretations (on each one of these counts it is very much superior to D. F. Fleming's tendentious, careless account of *The Cold War and Its Origins*), and it will probably become a standard overview of the period. But no matter how responsible an analysis one makes, it is impossible to exclude bitter, provocative issues from the discussion. It is to a few of these that I now turn.

For Fontaine, "the confrontation between Soviet power and the bourgeois world" dates from 1917, not from 1945, and must be understood in this context. By posing the matter in this way he quite rightly emphasizes the epochal aspect of the conflict: the two sides of the Cold War represented hostile social systems, rival ways of organizing the very world itself. When the Cold War metaphysicians, like John Foster Dulles or Zhdanov, saw the battle as Good versus Evil, this was the element of truth in their Manichean fantasies: the antagonism was between qualitatively different kinds of societies. Yet it is quite important to understand *which* different societies were involved. And the contrast between "Soviet" and "bourgeois" power is not adequate to this intellectual task.

Fontaine carefully documents the way in which Stalin betrayed the Leninist principles of national self-determination, but he does not relate this to the nature of Russian society and the character of the Cold War. When, for instance, the Russian dictator made his deal with Hitler, he not only seized his share of Poland but deported Jews to the Nazi side of the border as well. And during the Big Three negotiations on Eastern Europe, Stalin dealt more easily with Churchill, the professed imperialist, than with Roosevelt, the Wilsonian universalist. But this suggests that Russia had long ago ceased to be "Soviet" in the revolutionary sense the word had in 1917, and that the Cold War was not so much a struggle between revolution and counterrevolution as it was the clash of old and new forms of counterrevolution. In this perspective, the continuities of Stalinist and Tsarist foreign policy become more explicable.

So when Stalin bargained at the end of the war he had no qualms about asking for hegemony in Eastern Europe. And this brought him into conflict with FDR. There was in Roosevelt, as Fontaine ably argues, a "lacunae of genius." On the one hand, he was genuinely committed to democratic principles and shocked by Churchill's intervention in Greece (the latter had made a deal with Stalin who, true to his word, did not lift a hand when the British destroyed the Greek communist movement) and, toward the very end, by Stalin's intentions in Poland. Yet, tempering his idealism with arrogance, Roosevelt also believed that it was his mission to win the peace by arbitrating between British imperialism and Russian communism.

It is the revisionist thesis that if Roosevelt had lived, the Cold War would not have come about. The personality of Harry Truman and the devastating success of the Bomb, it is said, made America more belligerent and thus provoked the postwar enmity.

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Fontaine's careful summary of the facts does not support this view. For Roosevelt's idealism was on a collision course with Stalin's spheres-of-interest *realpolitik*. After all, FDR once took his own principles so seriously as to support Ho Chi Minh in Indochina (and in his memoirs, Charles De Gaulle, who has not forgotten this bizarre episode, is critical of Truman for having a similar conviction that all nations are ready for independence). And, as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. pointed out in a stimulating discussion of the revisionist debate, it is of some moment that Stalin was, according to the very best Russian testimony, in the grip of paranoia during this period.

There were those at the time who sought to settle the Soviet-American dispute on the basis of an old fashioned agreement on spheres of interest. Henry Stimson and Henry Wallace argued for this position, the former as a conservative, the latter as a progressive, and many of the revisionists applaud their wisdom today. What they were suggesting was an imperialist deal in which the Russians would have been licensed to dominate Eastern Europe and the Americans would have been given Western Europe and this hemisphere. In point of practicality, I doubt that the two societies could have made such a rational arrangement at the time. In point of morality, I am surprised there are those who think that such a course would have been radical and desirable.

I linger over this point because of its present relevance. One need not be a Fidelista or a Maoist to understand that, once the war in Vietnam is over, the United States and the Soviet Union could make a deal to respect each other's spheres of exploitation. Such an arrangement would be, to be sure, far preferable to World War III, but that would make it a lesser evil and not a positive good. It would mean that the Cold War would end ironically with both sides in the once supposedly irreconcilable conflict acknowledging their stake in the same *status quo*.

If there is any single impression which emerges from Fontaine's book it is precisely this sense of how unidealistic, how self-interested and vulgar the "free world" and "proletarian internationalism" were (in saying this, I stress similarities and not identities; it is, after all, possible to fight the outrages of bourgeois democracy without necessarily risking death or, as in liberalized totalitarianism, a work camp, a mental hospital or the loss of a job). So the problem, it seems to me, is not to accept a world of reconciled superpowers but to seek to transcend the old limits and to make genuine freedom possible on a global basis. Both Woodrow Wilson and V. I. Lenin – each in his own way – had something of this idea.

So does André Fontaine. "Neither so-called scientific socialism nor so-called liberal capitalism," he writes, "furnishes a ready-made solution to the problems of our poor world." And the desirable resolution to the Cold War will only come when there are new alternatives on both sides and for the majority of mankind caught in between. How sad it would be if the Soviet Union and the United States got together because they agreed that Chinese communism was the only truly revolutionary force. Once more the people would have only a choice between the old tyrannies and the new. The *History of the Cold War* makes it clear that, from 1917 to the present, such were the alternatives. They were tragic then. They still are, as the Vietnamese so well know.

"This book is causing a severe case of jitters in official Washington.

Its conclusion is that endless war may be good for the U.S. Some say it is grimly serious. Others call it leg-pulling satire. Sources close to the White House revealed that the Administration is alarmed. These sources say cables have gone to U.S. embassies, with stern instructions: Play down discussion of 'Iron Mountain'."—*U.S. News & World Report*

Report from Iron Mountain

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Unlocking the Ocean's Treasures

by Edward T. Chase

"Do you know that over a quarter of the earth is covered by land?" says one fish to another. This favorite bit of whimsy among oceanographers suggests the puny status of land and the secure vastness of the oceans. But the time is fast approaching when the little two-legged land creatures may confront the ocean realm with turmoil and destruction, and thereby threaten the very livability of the globe.

Harvest of the Sea
by John Bardach
(Harper & Row; $6.95)

It has been a spokesman for the tiniest parcel of land, Dr. Arvid Pardo, the representative of Malta to the United Nations, who has sounded the first officially acknowledged international note of alarm. In a notable three-hour address to the General Assembly's Political Committee, Dr. Pardo recently called for the United Nations to exercise sovereignty over the deep ocean beds so as to preclude conflict over them and wastage of their riches. Simultaneously he warned that ocean dumping of radioactive waste is potentially ruinous, and he has also anticipated that a UN agency's successful management of the oceans could probably achieve a net income of $5 billion by 1975. The wondrous prospect emerged in his speech of a

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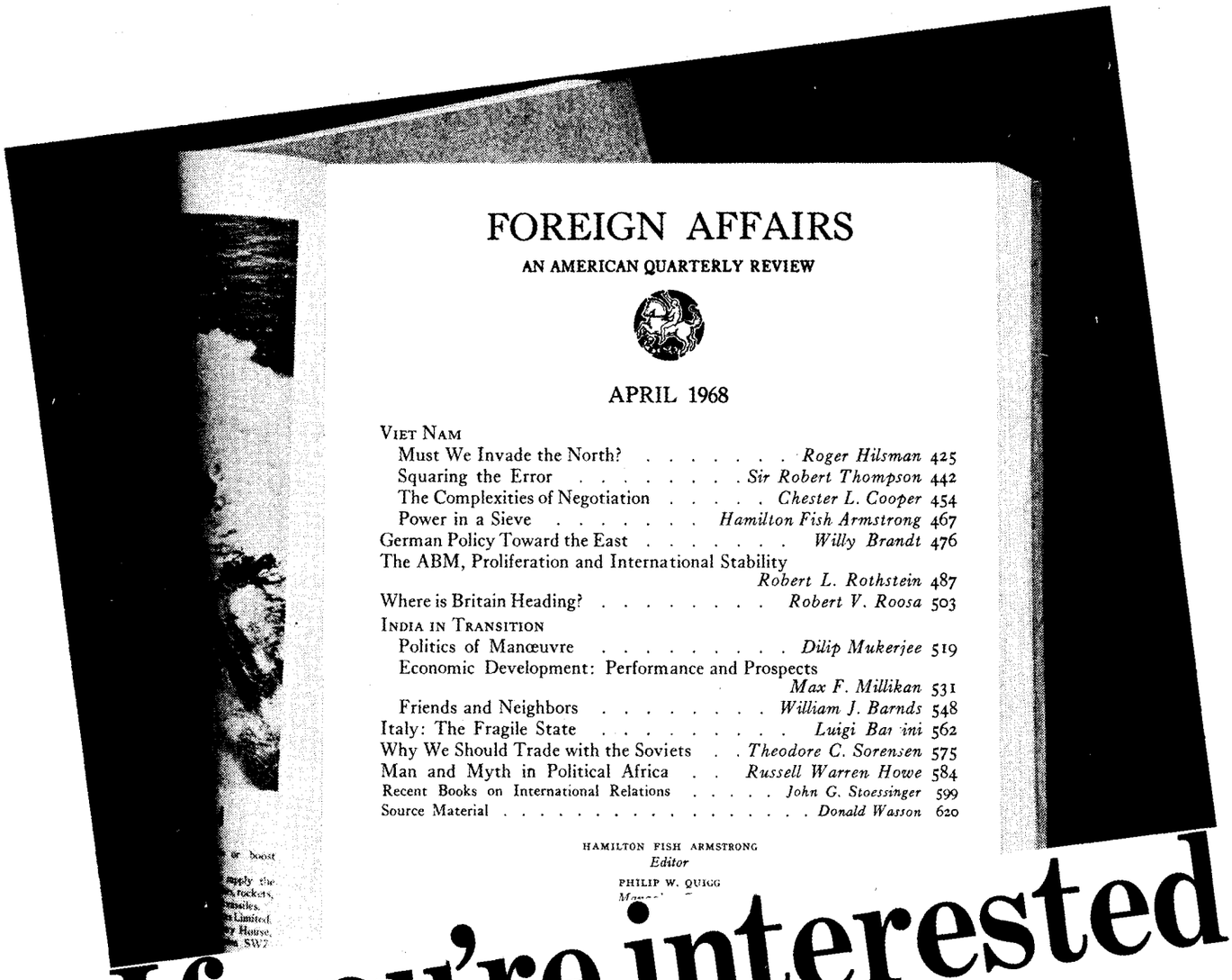

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AN AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW

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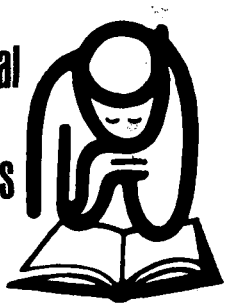
Winners 1968 National Book Awards



fiction
THORNTON WILDER
The Eighth Day
Harper and Row
Judges: Josephine Herbst, Granville Hicks, John Updike

poetry
ROBERT BLY
The Light Around the Body
Harper and Row
Judges: Donald Hall, Harvey Shapiro, Theodore Weiss

arts and letters
WILLIAM TROY
Selected Essays
Rutgers University Press
Judges: F. W. Dupee, Hilton Kramer, Wylie Sypher

history and biography
GEORGE F. KENNAN
Memoirs: 1925-1950
Atlantic-Little, Brown
Judges: Daniel Bell, Quincy Howe, Justin Kaplan

science, philosophy and religion
JONATHAN KOZOL
Death at an Early Age
Houghton Mifflin Co.
Judges: Rene Dubos, Philip Morrison, Edward Shils

most distinguished translation
HOWARD AND EDNA HONG
Søren Kierkegaard's Journals and Papers
Indiana University Press
Judges: Martin Malia, Walker Percy, Willard R. Trask

The National Book Awards are administered by the National Book Committee, a non-profit educational association. The awards consist of six 1,000 prizes donated by the American Book Publishers Council, the American Booksellers Association, the Association of American University Presses, the Book Manufacturers' Institute, and the National Translation Center.

simultaneous solution to the UN's financial plight and of a new source of income, by allocation of some of these funds, for the poorest nations.

The saddest note in Dr. Pardo's speech, but in a way probably the most realistic, was his complaint that certain US congressmen had suggested that sinister non-Maltese figures were behind his initiative in raising the ocean issue at the UN. Dr. Pardo effectively quashed that charge. Yet the very fact it was made foreshadows a future nationalistic and ideological contention over the world's last and greatest frontier. This can jeopardize man's most exciting opportunity for the relief of famine caused by overpopulation and for counteracting the depletion of the earth's essential organic and inorganic resources.

Within three weeks of Dr. Pardo's speech, there were some two dozen proposals pending in a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee *against* his proposal for UN regulation of the sea. The official US response in the UN was one of procrastination; the predictable plea was that "more study was needed." The National Oceanography Association urged that American national goals for oceanography first be established "before even seriously discussing any possible future steps toward internationalization of deep sea resources." As for the other 48 nations to speak to the issue, many rejected the notion of the United Nations General Assembly's involvement, virtually outright.

How dismaying is this discouragement of an international cooperative approach to the oceans is forcibly brought home by John Bardach's fine new book, though this is not its intent. For, quite without the overselling that has marred so many popular works on oceanography, Dr. Bardach describes the oceans' astonishing riches and how close they are now to mankind's grasp. He is a most sophisticated marine scientist. He is also a realist, quite aware that the resolution of political conflict and not technology is the key to unlocking the oceans' treasures.

Dr. Bardach reminds us at the outset that the science of oceanography is barely a century old. Today, quite suddenly, it gives signs of vying with film making as an enthusiasm of the young. There are at the moment only something like 5,800 persons in the US directly engaged in oceanography, but government and private programs are proliferating.

In October 1966, the National Sea Grant College and Program Act was signed. It marks the attempt to create for oceanography what the Morril Act of 1862, which established the land grant program, did for the development of the American West and for the creation of the greatest agricultural system in history.

The US Navy is embarked on a number of important oceanographic ventures – the Sealab III program of next July which will place aquanauts 430 feet down on the sea's bottom; a nuclear-powered submarine with wheels for bottom exploration; and new deep-diving rescue submarines.

Other oceanography projects include these: the Scripps Institution of Oceanography of the University of California this year will begin the biggest deep-sea drilling project in history, involving drilling at 70 sites through some four miles of water to penetrate up to 2,000 feet into the ocean bottom. The US is joining seven other nations in a 120,000 mile survey of the North Atlantic to study physical and chemical changes in the sea as clues to the question of why fish catches fluctuate so widely. The Commerce Department plans to build a giant new $20 million oceanographic laboratory on Virginia Key in Florida. And in what is described as the most ambitious survey ever made of tropical ocean waters, the $6 million project Eastropac, five nations, including the US, are trying to pinpoint the spawning grounds and movements of the tuna, now worth $30 million annually to the US.

Such research has been doubling the yield of the ocean fisheries about every ten years. To date, however, our expenditures for oceanic research are only a tiny fraction of the $23 billion Apollo space program, though one-fourth of the world's population is suffering from protein deprivation. And it took over two years after the formula had been perfected before the red tape could be unsnarled to permit the distribution of fish meal (MPC, short for Marine Protein Concentrate),

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VIET-NAM VETERAN'S SPEAK OUT!

We are veterans of the Viet-Nam war. We believe that this "conflict" in which our country is now engaged in Viet-Nam is wrong, unjustifiable, and contrary to the principle of self-determination on which this nation was founded. We believe that the activities and objectives of our forces in Viet-Nam are directly contrary to the best interests of the Vietnamese people and of the people of the United States. We believe that our policy in Viet-Nam supports tyranny and denies democracy. We believe this because of our experiences in Viet-Nam. We know, because we have been there, (and as recent events have again demonstrated) that the American public has not been told the truth about the war or about Viet-Nam.

We know:

- That Viet-Nam is one country—historically, culturally, and as specified in the Geneva Accords of 1954.
- That this conflict is basically a civil war.
- That the government in Saigon, despite the numerous "elections," is a military dictatorship—supported by a small feudal aristocarcy, the ARVN (Saigon) Officer corps, and over half a million American troops.
- That the majority of the people we are fighting in South Viet-Nam are south Vietnamese—NOT NORTH VIETNAMESE.
- That the basic problem in Viet-Nam is not military—but social, economic, and political; not American—but Vietnamese. There is no military – no AMERICAN "solution."

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Dr. Bardach manages to cover every important aspect of oceanography in a succinct 300 pages. What is especially worthwhile is his detailed account of the actual harvesting of the seas themselves – quite properly the title of his book – which provides up-to-the-minute explanations of the latest techniques of fishing, preservation, harvesting plankton, pearl farming, raising shrimp. (He is less interested in the geologic and mineral story.) His introduction is a model essay on the central place of the oceans in the scheme of things, jam-packed with facts yet gracefully and imaginatively setting forth the main findings of modern oceanography. He proceeds with a clear account of the methods and problems of diving and underwater exploration; devotes the central part of his book to an evaluation of sea life and its potentials for food (you can forget plankton as a practical human food); and goes on to cover such topics as overfishing and regulations, wastes and the sea, its potentials for fresh water and for power, and "tasks for future lawmakers." These are excessively formidable, as I have already suggested.

Quite apart from open warfare or paralysis of international oceanic development because of ideological conflict, the ocean potential can be destroyed by man-made pollution, as Dr. Bardach reminds us and as was recently emphasized in Wesley Marx's book, *The Frail Ocean*. The most dramatic cautionary examples are our own great inland seas, Lake Erie and more recently Lake Ontario and Lake Michigan, the latter the world's sixth largest lake. Lake Erie's central area of 3,500 square miles is so oxygen depleted from pollution that it is already a lifeless desert. Lake Michigan last summer was the scene of a five-mile oil slick, its beaches were befouled with thousands of rotting alewives, and it turned sickly green from eutrophication brought on by the inflow of 310 municipal sewage systems. As for Lake Ontario, Dr. David Wilson of the University of Rochester reported recently to the American Association for the Advancement of Science on a survey his group had made. He revealed that in the area of Rochester's beaches they had found coliform counts (coliform organisms are intestinal bacteria) as high as 19 million per 100 milliliters of water from allegedly treated sewage. The enormity of this finding is suggested by the fact that New York State law specifies a 2,400 coliform count per 100 milliliters of water as the maximum permissible in waters to which the public is exposed.

The new excitement over oceanography, and water management generally, stems in part from an enormous tension: the tension generated by the sense of a breathtaking possibility for almost limitless benefits for man, much closer than any that might come from space, together with a growing sense of apprehension that we might easily blow the whole deal. Statesmen, congressmen, read Dr. Bardach's new book and *care*.

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Forget You!

by Nat Hentoff

The Way It Spozed to Be
by James Herndon
(Simon and Schuster; $4.50)

You can't say it's their fault; it's the way it is. They're deprived and culturally disadvantaged, just like their parents who don't have magazines like *The New Republic* around the house. Therefore, we've been told for some years, they need a head start and curriculum enrichment and special services. But they keep dropping behind or dropping out, those black kids and Puerto Ricans and Mexicans and, almost entirely forgotten, those poor whites.

The reason, we are now told by a group of new writers on education, is that the system is at fault – the failure is that of the schools and the teachers. The system is rigid and irrelevant to the needs and experiences of ghetto children. The teachers, most of them, nurture self-fulfilling prophecies that these kids simply don't have much capacity to learn. Among this year's attacks on the system have been Jonathan Kozol's *Death at an Early Age* and Herbert Kohl's *36 Children*.

But the attackers have become targets now. Dr. Robert J. Havighurst of the University of Chicago has recently complained that "the tendency of some critics to lay the whole burden on the schools and the whole blame for the plight of disadvantaged youth on the schools is unfair, unrealistic, and can only lead to more difficulties for the schools and for the cities."

Having had some experience in ghetto schools and been an observer in many others, I'm with Kozol and Kohl; but our books, says the education editor of *The New York Times*, are "sentimental." I'm not sure what he means. Kozol's jeremiad about the Boston school system is certainly the angriest of all these current books, but I do not equate his rage with sentimentality. Kohl, on the other hand, focuses on

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what he was able to do, hidden away from the rest of the system, in one year in an East Harlem classroom. He's convincing because a large part of his book consists of the actual work of these children, who were failures before Kohl and failures afterward. But I will grant that the transient success of Kohl and his students may appear to some people to be a fluke. Sixth grade black kids, with stunted reading scores, digging mythology and James Joyce! They must be "special" or Kohl must be.

It depends on what you mean by "special." But for those who find Kozol's fury and Kohl's convictions romantic, there is an instructive new, wholly anti-sentimental book about the "disadvantaged" – James Herndon's *The Way It Spozed to Be*, a year's chronicle of a teacher in a black junior high school on the west coast, the "George Washington" school, he calls it. "They remained for me," he writes about one of his classes, "a shallow, deceitful and uninteresting group who cordially disliked me and whom I grew to dislike in turn." And of one boy he says: "He was simply a mean little son-of-a-bitch, no matter how he got that way." Nor did Herndon achieve anything like Kohl's luminous year of liberation for himself and his students. Herndon did have a few successes, which gave him some insights into what education could be; but when he was fired at the end of the year because his classes were noisy and he hadn't used his time "efficiently," he did not leave behind a revolution of expectations among his students. He might have if he had stayed long enough to be principal, but the system beat him.

What Herndon has accomplished in his small, mordant book is the most accurate description so far in print of ghetto schoolchildren and the forces (teachers and administrators) lined up against them. Particularly the children – their speech, their fears, their prejudices, their strengths, and their very real knowledge of what the odds are. ("Forget you! one kid would often say to another if he really wished to insult him badly. . . . Forget you! When they said it, it was a threat and, like a magic word or a curse, a prediction – a prediction of possibilities for tomorrow, next period, next month, when it just might happen that they were finally going to forget *you*.")

The book is also important because, without jargon or sententiousness, it confirms what Herbert Kohl has exemplified and what John Holt keeps underlining in his books, *How Children Fail* and *How Children Learn*. A child, no matter what his background, will learn what interests him. In one of Herndon's classes, for example, the kids on their own made up something they called Slambooks. On each page, "there is the name of a kid, and on that page other kids have been invited to comment on his or her character, appearance, courage, brains or wealth." The same phenomenon was taking place in other classes where the teachers assiduously confiscated and destroyed the Slambooks as being wasteful of time and material. But Herndon did not interfere because "this was more work than many had done the entire year. . . . They were avidly writing in them, not perhaps in complete sentences or according to the other standards expected for classwork, but the books were carefully made, the names spelled right, the style of the opening paragraph elegant and complicated and formal." And reading, of course, was also stimulated by the existence of the Slambooks of others.

Herndon expected the books to be full of sexual invitation and bristling nastiness. But they weren't. There was a considerable amount of generous and perceptive appraisal. His original expectation, he realized, "was based on the general prejudice we bring to anything teen-agers do of their own accord, and to the particular teen-agers of GW especially, and so it was wrong. I was shown again, for perhaps the hundredth time, that 9D was a group of children, not of dangerous hoodlums."

There are other examples of self-motivation to learn: spelling improved as the students, of their own accord, started listing the Top 40 hits each morning on the blackboard. In addition, Herndon discovered that these tough-talking, wary children could be trusted on occasion to decide for themselves what they wanted to do and learn on a particular day. There was a lot of attendant shouting, which figured in Herndon's dismissal, but the initial tumult made sense to him, as when his students were arguing about which play to act out and about the casting. ("This outcry was orderly in intent and in effect, for in about four or five minutes it was all over, readers were sitting down, they had books, the audience was getting ready to listen. I doubt very much if 9D could have been organized to read a play in five minutes, even by an experienced teacher with a machine gun."

But most "experienced" teachers would not have permitted the outcry, for it might get out of control, and control is all. One teacher at GW simply would not speak to students who were not "ladies and gentlemen" and banished them from the classroom if they spoke to her. The other teachers also "wanted the kids absolutely quiet and orderly, only instead of just eliminating them from the class they argued and moralized with them about it, an activity which resulted in no order and also no change in student attitude or behavior."

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at GW was exciting, buoyant. "You can stand around and watch the kids pour in, dressed as nicely as possible, all of them like yourself having forgotten momentarily what they're in for, yelling and laughing to each other, talking, asking questions . . . all familiar and noisy and pleasant." By the spring, disruptive behavior had reached riot proportions in some classrooms. But that had been expected by the majority of the teachers who "had believed all along that there was a war going on; outnumbered, they used every trick and all the moral authority granted them by the school and the country of America to hold the fort as long as it might be held. Now, retreating, still punishing the enemy whenever possible, giving ground, they hadn't given up and they weren't depressed. They would regroup, they told themselves, and would come back next year for those battles, which they expected would follow the same pattern of war."

The war continues at GW and its ghetto counterparts throughout the country. The teachers still hold the fort; and as for education, forget you! Teachers unions are growing stronger, but most of their members remain, as a maverick teacher in New York puts it, "attitudinally disadvantaged." They are disadvantaged not only because of their preconceptions about the children of the poor but also because of their ignorance of how children, any children, learn. Few of these teachers are likely to read *The Way It Spozed to Be* and if they do and are favorably impressed, they will probably consider James Herndon "special." And so, alas, he is.

ART

Homage to France

The first thing one notices about the large loan exhibition called *Painting in France 1900-1967*, now at the National Gallery in Washington and coming to the Metropolitan in New York next month, is its odd timing. It must have required a certain *panache* for M. Malraux's Ministry of Cultural Affairs and the Musée d'Art Moderne to send this show to America when cultural as well as diplomatic relations between the two countries are at an all-time low.

Ever since Rauschenberg won the Venice Biennale in 1964 the French art world has been alert to the American menace, though in fact the barbarians had been slipping through the gates for some years while French painting dozed in a post-Surrealist Indian summer. By the time the French awoke to the importance of Abstract Expressionism it was too late: Abstract Expressionism was already dead, or so it was said, and even Pop was on the way out, causing younger French artists to adopt a fence-sitting attitude which is still evident. In its review of the Biennale the weekly *L'Observateur* printed a cartoon of Superman soaring upward from the Piazza San Marco with a bagful of dollars, an image which summed up, but unfortunately did not supplant, the torrents of ulcerated prose in the French press.

It also emerged at this time that American artists had been slandering the French for years, but since the general public was unaware of any American ascendancy in the arts, they could hardly have been expected to know of the accompanying tide of resentment toward French art, which started the whole thing a generation gap ago and was therefore guilty. Since then French resentment and mistrust have kept pace with American contempt, and the resulting situation does credit to neither side. One of the more piquant incidents in this cold war was an exchange of letters in last November's number of the French art magazine *L'Oeil* between Sidney Janis and Alain Jouffroy, one of the more bombastic younger French critics, about who did the first monochrome painting – Ellsworth Kelly or Yves Klein? What emerged was that the origins of monochrome are as clouded as Chaos and

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Old Night, and that artists and their fans are apt to be as chauvinistic as the DAR.

This may seem a long preamble to a show which, I hasten to add, is crammed with beautiful pictures that have nothing to do with politics. But since the show is bound to have political repercussions (in the art world) and was no doubt sent here with that understanding, its political message is worth decoding. It is true that Americans, despite all their loose talk, are only imperfectly aware of postwar developments in French painting. Many of the "heavies" like Wols, Hartung and Fautrier, whom the French consider on a par with Pollock, Klein and Rothko, have hardly been seen in depth over here, while their zanier (and more salable) juniors like Jacquet, Raysse and Yves Klein have regularly made the New York and Los Angeles scenes. A certain accounting, then, was overdue, but though the present show gives a generally fair picture of current French activity in painting, it is not one that is likely to make American artists uneasy. All too often, alas, it will seem like an attenuated reflection of what has been happening here.

This does not apply, of course, to the first decades covered in the show, where on the contrary one can see the source of much of our own more recent "heroic" period. These rooms are a delight: one might quarrel, according to one's personal taste, with the choices (perhaps a bigger Vuillard, a later Derain, a more typical Rouault?), but this would be ungrateful indeed. The Musée d'Art Moderne could hardly be expected to strip its walls; meanwhile it has sent us a sizable portion of its treasures. These include one of the key pictures of the 20th century, Matisse's 1907 *Le Luxe*, as well as major examples of Utrillo, Chagall, Modigliani, Picasso and Braque. It is especially nice to see Bonnard's lush and witty *Portrait of the Bernheim Brothers* (one of three Bonnards) and for once a Dufy (*The Studio in the Impasse Guelma*) that shows what a marvelous painter he sometimes was. Vuillard's *The Breakfast Table*, a portrait of his mother, is small in size but big in spirit, washed with the tawny light of a wallpapered Paris dining room smelling of *navarin* and cats. Roger de la Fresnaye's *Seated Man* is one of the undeniable masterpieces of this uneven painter, and even Segonzac manages to look less like a poor relation than usual. These first rooms in the show confirm my feeling that, if the Musée d'Art Moderne were to consign two-thirds of its collection to the reserves and find a suitable shelter for the remainder, it would be one of the world's best museums.

Feeling all aglow again, one comes to the second and larger section, covering the succeeding generations, and chosen, apparently, with the help of a number of Paris dealers who get thanks in the catalogue preface. Inevitably this sequel, like all sequels, is a letdown. And nobody, surely, imagined that Soulages and Mathieu, good as they are, were the equals of Bonnard and Picasso. It is really not their fault, nor that of their contemporaries, if the before-and-after format of the exhibition places them at a disadvantage. It is nobody's fault. Meanwhile, lest Americans derive excessive satisfaction from this, let them first imagine a show in which Pollock, de Kooning, Still, Newman, Rothko, Motherwell and Kline confront their younger contemporaries. Such a show may soon be headed for Paris, judging from an invitation from M. Malraux which Ambassador Lucet read at the opening, and the French critics are no doubt sharpening their garrison belts.

Why does art seem to bloom at certain times in certain countries and then fade out abruptly? One might argue that the First World War and the Depression finished French art off. Today it seems to lag chiefly because artists get very little support either from private collectors (and hence dealers) or the government. The collecting of young artists as it is practiced here is unknown in France; museums are government run and hence impoverished (imagine our Museum of Modern Art forced to depend on Congress for funds!); tax cuts for gifts to museums do not exist, although a recently enacted law now permits people who inherit works of art to present them to a museum without first paying inheritance taxes. A private collection may even become a liability in the form of a *signe extérieur de richesse*, subjecting its owner to a tax increase.

Theodore Roszak reports on the "Counter Culture" in The NATION

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These factors plus the natural tendency of pendulums to swing are perhaps some reasons why the French Elysian Fields of pre-1914 now seem a rather untidy garden. Not that it is by any means a desert, but what there is, judging from this show, is a cluster of individual talents rather than a tradition, that feeling that everybody is on to something which we get rather too much of in New York. And maybe the leaders of 1914 were themselves merely a small group of fortuitously placed individuals; certainly they go their own separate ways after the war, with even happier results in many cases: Léger's huge *Composition with Two Parrots* (1935-39), Picasso's *Dawn Serenade* (1942) and Braque's late and odd *Weeding Machine* (1961-63) bear witness to vitality and independence, while one really doesn't miss Marcoussis, Gleizes and the others who helped shape the earliest Zeitgeist.

And one might argue that the break-up of a tradition is a good thing, allowing artists to go back to what they wanted to do in the first place without worrying about what the tenant of the next studio may be up to; this seems now to be happening somewhat in New York. Thus France since 1920 has seen the emergence of highly individualistic figurative painters like Balthus, Hélion and Bérard. (The latter is regrettably absent from the show; one could have wished too for one of Hélion's more recent, realistic canvases to supplement the two admirable earlier ones, but they are considered retrograde by retrograde French opinion.) Painters like these inspire admiration but not imitation; their gift is too personal and hard to analyze, and they could probably not have achieved even their present stature in a one-tradition culture.

Among the postwar abstract painters it is again the odd, quirky ones who come off best, for example Michaux, whose india ink armies repeat the lilliputian struggles in his poetry; Dubuffet's human mud-pies; Fautrier's arsenical *tartes à la crème* which affect one more as time goes by, although (and the same is true of Hols) it is a static art of renunciation of everything except the patterns of mold on the wall of one's cell, and therefore puzzles Americans; Herbin and Dewasne, whose bright hard-edge paintings end up as something a lot more personal and satisfying than a retread of Mondrian; and Degottex, a gifted painter of almost monochrome panels, who is unfortunately represented here by a rather weak example. Mathieu also is among the unaffiliated major postwar painters, and it is too bad that he is represented in Washington only by a minor work of 1945: he has really come into his own only in the '60s, when he started to go out of fashion, and a large recent work sent from France was one of a number (including Picasso's curtain for *Parade!*) which could not be hung for lack of space. Perhaps it would have been better in this case to prune the show of some of its local deities and river-gods like Nallard, Estève, Schneider, and Gillet, who, though typical of the School of Paris, add no special luster.

But where the show disappoints most is in the work of the younger generation. Not that they are untalented; some of them are quite clever and by and large their work is much pleasanter to look at than that of their immediate predecessors. That's just it – it's pleasant. In many cases they have latched on to some American phenomenon and cleaned it up for home consumption. The German Peter Klasen, for instance, has adapted Rosenquist's significantly placed trivia in his *What Woman Wants* so that the result is actually fetching, which was certainly not the original intention. Bernard Rancillac turns Pop into a crypto-political statement – the French feel you have to protest *something*, not everything all at once. One is both delighted and frustrated by Hervé Télémaque's deft juxtapositions of lawn furniture called *The Poet Dreams of His Death* and Jean-Pierre Raynaud's *Psycho Object 27-A*, an assemblage that suggests a hygienic concentration camp. The level of competence is very high, and that's about it. Perhaps this is being too hard on the French, but if so it's because one would really like to see them break through, if only to give the lie to American smugness. Anyway, there are bright spots, such as one of the late Bernard Réquichot's insane collages; a composition of squashed paint-tubes exuding rainbow streams of color, by Arman; and a beautiful painting called *Exhibits and Other Things* by the Portuguese-born René Bertholo, in which miscellaneous pastel objects, people and bits of furniture drift across the canvas the way they do in your mind's eye when you're falling asleep.

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Michael Harrington's *latest book is* The Other America *published by Macmillan.* Edward T. Chase *is an editor and writer on public affairs.* Nat Hentoff *is the author of* Our Children Are Dying. John Ashbery *is a poet and an editor of* Art News.

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Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

Military Injustice

Sirs:

Mr. Edward F. Sherman's article "Military Injustice" (March 9, 1968) presents a very one-sided view of Military Law as it is now administered in the US Navy and Marine Corps, at least. Fresh from Officer's Candidate School and a very junior officer (Ensign and Lieutenant, Junior Grade), I was assigned and/or selected to defend several men before special courts martial. My legal training consisted of one course in Business Law at the Pennsylvania State University. This was at sea in foreign waters, aboard a large ship – a place where the power of the commanding officer is almost absolute. I obtained acquittals in several cases, in which the defendants had signed confessions prior to the trial, on procedural errors or lack of validity in the evidence presented by the Prosecution.

On three occasions I have sat as a member of special courts martial. In all cases the proceedings were conducted in a fair and impartial atmosphere. Officers assigned as Presidents of these courts were well prepared and guided by minutely detailed instructions to avoid prejudicial error. The impartiality of these courts far exceeded that of many local courts in certain parts of the country, I am sure. Never have I experienced or heard of any pressure from a commanding officer for a verdict which he especially desired. As a matter of fact, I have been ruefully complimented by several of my commanding officers for successfully defending men they sent before special courts martial. My fitness reports, which I have personally reviewed, were not affected by my success in these cases, although signed by the same Commanding Officers.

Mr. Sherman's statement concerning the assignment of lawyers to servicemen accused of violations is completely false. Article 31 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) requires a warning and advice more complete than that required by the *Miranda* decision and predates *Miranda*. The US Court of Military Appeals has reversed many cases on this point and, as a matter of procedure, the warning of Article 31 is read even to witnesses in pre-trial hearings. A serviceman accused of breach of the UCMJ is entitled to a civilian lawyer or any counsellor of his choice in all pre-trial hearings and during courts martial. The commanding officer appoints counsel only if the accused man fails to select one.

Believe it or not, the vast majority of officers in all of the services take seriously their position as "Officers and Gentlemen by Act of Congress" and act on the assumption that a gentleman is at all times honest. Mr. Sherman's charge that "a junior officer can banish the influence of his commander (who rates him and controls his assignment) is about as likely as a senator not being influenced by large gifts" is a serious slur on the character of the officers of the several services and is an unwarranted slap at one of the most conscientious and able groups in our society. Legal miscarriages occur more frequently in civil courts through lack of spine in the face of political pressure than in military proceedings, I am sure. The pages of *The New Republic* have documented many of them since I began reading this magazine in 1957.

D. J. Peffer,
Lt., SC, USN
Jacksonville, N. C.

In reply . . .

Lt. Peffer's spirited defense of Marine Corps military justice is not untypical of the thinking of non-lawyer officers in the military. Many, like Lt. Peffer, have been appointed as a counsel in special courts martial, and some, like Lt. Peffer, have succeeded in getting some acquittals. The fact that the proceedings were orderly and that they conscientiously did the best job they could and were not subjected to overt command influence convinces them that military justice is all it should be. Unfortunately, it is not. One need only leaf through the advance sheets coming down from the Court of Military Appeals and federal courts these days to discover far too many cases overruling special court martial convictions because the non-lawyer counsel was inadequate or other due process safeguards were not met.

Many special courts martial involve rather routine military crimes, and non-lawyers have performed adequately as counsel. But serious crimes are also tried in special courts, and a non-lawyer, no matter how well intentioned, has only a superficial understanding of the law; his lack of depth could mean, at a hundred different points in the trial, that the accused will not receive adequate representation. An Army JAG officer, Captain Bednar, wrote in a 1962 *Military Law Review* article: "Since legally trained personnel are not required on special courts martial (even the President of the court need not be and usually is not a lawyer), it takes little imagination to guess the quantity of legal errors and the quality of fairness and justice afforded an accused before this tribunal in comparison with a general court martial."

Lt. Peffer is impressed by the "minutely detailed instructions" used by the President of the court and concludes that this makes it a fair trial.

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These instructions are a script to help the non-lawyer President and non-lawyer counsel get all the necessary elements of due process read into the record in hopes that the conviction will be upheld on appeal. This script tends to formalize what should be an adversary proceeding, and it is not uncommon for a trial to be reduced to the President and counsel reading back and forth to each other, garbling the unfamiliar legal terms, sometimes mistakenly reading beyond their appropriate sections and missing the cues for raising objections and defenses. Such a script is necessary when laymen are playing lawyer, but Lt. Peffer should not be misled into thinking that this is the way a trial should operate or that it provides a very satisfactory defense for an accused.

Lt. Peffer's denial that there is command influence does not reach the real issue. These days, most commanders are sophisticated enough not to bring overt pressure to bear on counsel and court members (although there was considerable evidence of arm-twisting in some 75 court martial cases at the investigation of Maj. Gen. Lipscomb at Ft. Leonard Wood last summer). However, the structure of the court martial is not calculated to give the accused the same type of impartial trial by one's peers as a civilian gets. Most courts are made up of officers handpicked by the commander (enlisted men have learned that the right to ask for one-third of the court to be enlisted usually results in appointment of career NCO's who rarely disagree with the officers), and many officers are predisposed to the "disciplinary" theory that a special court martial is a test of their commander's policies. Likewise, the non-lawyer counsel, usually a lower ranking officer, is hampered not only by his lack of knowledge of law but also by the fact that he is part of the command structure. Studies have proven that non-lawyer counsel are more likely to encourage an accused to plead guilty and are less likely to make pre-trial motions for suppression of evidence, to make timely objections to questions and evidence, and to cross-examine witnesses, all of which are the stock in trade of a competent trial lawyer.

Lt. Peffer is incorrect in his statements about Article 31 and the *Miranda* decision. Article 31 does not go as far as *Miranda* because it does not require that the accused be informed, prior to custodial interrogation, that he has a right to counsel. A year after *Miranda* was decided, the Court of Military Appeals held in *US v. Tempia* that the military would have to meet the requirements of *Miranda*. As a result, military law is in a strange position. A serviceman is now entitled to an appointed lawyer during interrogation but, if he is tried in a special court martial, he will only be provided a non-lawyer counsel. Lt. Peffer is also misinformed about the right of an accused to be represented by a civilian lawyer. Article 38(b) permits an accused to be represented by a civilian lawyer, but the military will not pay his fee. Since the vast majority of accused servicemen have no money for a lawyer, they have to be represented in special courts by the military counsel, usually a non-lawyer (except in the Air Force), appointed for them.

Although I might have some reservations about Lt. Peffer's acclaim of military officers as "one of the most conscientious and able groups in our society," I would concede that there is no more spleen in most officers than in most of us and that most attempt to do justice on court martial duty. However, they are hampered by the structure of the court martial, by their own predispositions and position in the command framework, and by their lack of legal training.

Edward F. Sherman

Tell Me Lies

Sirs:

I shared Stanley Kauffmann's irritation at *Tell Me Lies:* it bogs down in self-pity and self-importance. A Vietnamese could only shake his head over the solemnity with which this group of English artists concentrate on the question of their own sensibility to the exclusion of the war itself. And there was obviously an inner connection between this preoccupation and the kind of political figure who would be chosen for exhibition – no one active in the American peace movement was shown, no one like Muste or Dellinger, but instead: Stokely Carmichael. And then there was that cute reference to Ché Guevara which Mr. Kauffmann mentioned. The section about Norman Morrison might have been a glorious exception, but instead was used to prepare an Englishman's *dream* of burning himself. . . .

However, I don't think Mr. Kauffmann's irritation should have spilled over onto *Far From Vietnam*, the French film which is about to have its New York run – and which I hope may be seen throughout the country. As I read him, Mr. Kauffmann is close to demanding of the war films that they one and all address themselves to winning over to the peace movement such middle-of-the-roaders as may now be hesitating. That is a good cause, and the most urgent one. But there are others, and anyhow *Far From Vietnam* quite openly adopts a stance which Mr. Kauffmann didn't tell his readers about. It is *for* the other side – both the DRV and the NLF. Since it is also very well put together – as *Tell Me Lies*

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is not – it seems to me, minimally, to have the interest of showing Americans, in a far from boring way, how millions of people whom they don't normally hear from feel and think about this war. Even if what these people feel and think is wrong, it remains important that they feel and think it: and this film could liquidate quite a lot of ignorance and all without, as I say, being dull. In my own view, the film has much more value than that. As one who often wonders how one could get the Vietnam situation into theatre and literature, I was often thrilled by the simplicity with which the camera made points which have not and perhaps could not have been made in these other forms. One of these points was familiar to my brain but only became vivid to my imagination through the film: it is that this is a war of a very rich and powerful nation against a very poor and, in the usual sense, weak nation. See the film, and I will guarantee that this proposition will take on a much more concrete and human meaning for you.

Far From Vietnam will be shown in New York. But it won't run long, and won't be shown anywhere else in the country, if all the reviews are on the lines of Stanley Kauffmann's comment. And that would be a great misfortune. After all there *are* Americans who accept its thesis 100 percent. And surely there are a very large number who can see the value of hearing a voice from the Other Side – I include in this number both those who really consider it the Other Side and those who, whatever they think of the DRV and the NLF, find the United States to be in the wrong in this war.

Lyndon Johnson has likened himself to Lincoln and Ho Chi Minh to Hitler. In Vietnam, they see Johnson as Hitler, and Ho Chi Minh as a George Washington, and they find it entirely natural that Ky, who once loved Hitler himself, should later transfer his affections to our President. Something like this is the perspective of the film *Far From Vietnam*. Too shocking to have any effect in this country? Well, I should very much like to see that tested. It is a powerful and eloquent work.

Eric Bentley
New York, N.Y.

Otto Passman – Chief Wrecker

Sirs:

Foreign economic assistance has been a prime and tragically unnecessary casualty of the war for Southeast Asia.

The arguments of Chief Wrecker Otto Passman's new-found allies reflect their current agony more than good sense. Some have claimed that development assistance causes later entanglements, that, so to speak, the flag follows AID. . . . We *are* using AID resources heavily in the current war, and some anti-war liberals have consequently sought to attack the war by attacking AID. The cuts, however, will not reduce the flow of funds to the government's top priority Vietnam commitment. They will only further shrivel the hopes of Indians, Africans, and Latin Americans.

Amendments limiting specific AID allocations would be more constructive than acquiescing in the destruction of the whole program.

William Drayton, Jr.
New Haven, Conn.

The University as Marketplace

Sirs:

In the interests of "fair play," I should be happy to see a ban on *all* on-campus recruiting by off-campus groups. These groups, be they Dow Chemical or Peace Corps, could use the same on-campus advertising outlets they previously have used and students could easily make the necessary arrangements to meet with recruiters at off-campus facilities.

If Paul W. Kurtz's (Correspondence March 16) horrifying picture of the university as a prep school for the marketplace is valid, he should welcome my suggestion. For in taking careful note of the time and place of his interview, determining whether the location is in walking distance or will require a car or carfare, facing such brain-teasers as whether to take a raincoat, a resume, or both, the student is preparing himself for the glorious day to which all his education leads – the day he gets his job through *The New York Times*.

Ellen Cohn
New York, N. Y.

Kauffmann, *from page 24*

sent us so many films of social realism that they almost formed a category – the "social realies." That phase passed: because time passed, times changed, the principal writers of the school became otherwise interested. Britain has now found another vein to mine. Mod has been her chief export to the world since industrial-town Anger faded. British films are now choked with Mersey sound, Quant clothes, swinging London – almost as if the Board of Trade insisted on it. London in fact *is* mod – more so than New York – and is the source of much that is mod elsewhere; any British film that ignored this fact completely would be untrue. But to cherish and *sell* it so! I once met a Canadian importer in the Warsaw airport who wanted to increase his business with Poland but said that the Poles had nothing to export but baskets and hams. They were relying very heavily on those baskets and hams, he said, and it made him sad. British films these days are relying very heavily on swingingness, and it makes me sad.

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